





THE LIVER GANGER - A GRAY MULLETT.  
(Frontispiece.)



I

# FAMILIAR HISTORY BRITISH INDIA.

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME

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the "Military Encyclopedia," etc. etc.

TENTH THOUSAND,

REVISED AND BROUGHT DOWN TO 1865.

By JAMES H. SIDDONS.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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In the course of preparing sundry of the pupils of the Janwell College and other schools for the Indian Army and Civil Establishment, I was much struck with the extraordinary imperfections of the *History of India* prescribed by the late East India Company for the candidates for their services, and still continued in use. The volume of MR. HUGH MURRAY actually omits all reference to the chief events in the career of Warren Hastings, and the governments of Lord Minto and Sir John Shore, the Mutiny at Vellore, the Burmese War of 1824-25, the Barrackpore Mutiny of 1826, and several other incidents of great historical importance. Had the date of the publication of the book, of course, precluded any allusion to the last great rebellion, the administrative changes which have resulted in it. Other histories I have found either too meagre or too full for the ordinary student; and few of them are truly accurate in their account of the progress of English settlement, and the diffusion of good laws and Christian religion in India, though not wanting in

the narrative of the military conquest of the country. To supply the deficiencies of my predecessors, in what appear to me the essentials of a history of India, the following pages have been written. I have touched but very briefly on the early invasions of the Mahomedans from the West, for no profit is to be derived from the story of a tissue of barbarities; and with like brevity I have treated of the Hindoo mythology, which is complicated and perplexing, and by no means instructive.

J. H. STOCQUELER.

# P R E F A C E

TO THE

## R E V I S E D E D I T I O N.

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THE earlier editions of the “Familiar History of India” closed with the transfer of the government of the country from the East India Company to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and the measures adopted consequent upon the change in 1859. Since then events have followed one another with such marvellous rapidity, tending to the consolidation of the acquisition, that a new and enlarged edition of the History had become indispensable. The duty of the Editor, in tracing the progress of improvement in India arising out of enlarged principles of policy—consideration for the natives—increased land culture—augmented facilities for the administration of justice—and the extensive spread of education, has been peculiarly agreeable. He feels that the history of the operations of his countrymen in the vast Oriental dominion acknowledging the sovereignty of Queen Victoria may now be read by Englishmen with pride, and by other nations with profit.

Two sheets, comprising sixty-four pages, have been added to the former editions. The only portion of those editions which has been expunged consisted of three or four pages at the close: and it is a very remarkable proof of the justness of the views of the Author expressed in those pages, regarding the duty incumbent upon the new government in view to the future welfare of India, that the course of policy which he recommended has been carried out very nearly to the letter.

JAMES H. SPEDDING.

March, 1865.

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# A FAMILIAR HISTORY OF INDIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

India topographically described — The produce of the country — The religion of the Hindoos and Mahomedans — The first Brahminical visitors — The progress of Mahomedan conquest — The Hindoo castes.

As it is utterly impossible that history can be read to a profit, or even understood, unless the geography of the country in which the historical events occur is thoroughly mastered, the reader should lay open before him a map of INDIA, and examine its general outline with care.

The result of the examination of the map will be to show the student that British India is comprehended in thirty to thirty-five degrees of longitude, and as many of latitude; that the whole continent and peninsula form an inverted cone; that this vast space is bounded on the north by the Himalayas, a magnificent range of mountains; on the west, by the Indian Ocean and Affghanistan; on the south, by the Atlantic; and on the east, by the Bay of Bengal and the Burmese empire.

If, by looking upon a small object, the mind of the reader can realise a very large one, let him suppose India, from Cape Comorin, its most southerly point, to the river Indus, in the north, to be upwards of 1500 miles in length, and in the northerly direction 1500 miles in breadth. That space, three times the length and three times the breadth of England and Scotland, comprehends the territory ruled by the Sovereign and Senate of England—a proud appendage to a little insular state, whose inhabitants were scarcely better than savages a thousand years ago.

Now, giving the fancy a wider scope, and supposing the

may take a picture, what is it represent? A vast land, fertile beyond comparison—a land of plain, and mountain, and forest; the plains yielding rice, cotton, sugar, coffee, tea, wheat, indigo, madder, hemp, flax, and tobacco; the mountains and the forests producing timber, drugs, oil, sandal-wood, gums, silk, ratten, and fruit; forests and mountains alike tenanted by the elephant, the buffalo, and the deer, by birds of glorious plumage, and reptiles of various forms—where we derive ivory, horns, and hides, feathers, dyes and tobacco-shells; forest and mountain and plain constituting beneath their surface mines of coal and iron, saltpetre, copper, and tin, quarries of marble and pits of stone. And all this land intersected by broad navigable rivers, by ghat, and railway, and canals (though much too few to number), by lakes of prodigious extent, by banks of great breadth, and visited by beautiful nature with copious perennial rains, saturating and fertilising the earth, which gratefully yields its abundant wealth under theugal influence of a perpetual sun.

Carry the imagination a little further, and behold on the western and eastern coast, on the banks of the rivers, and in the centre of the plains, magnificent towns, densely populated by men of various races, industriously labouring at all the arts of civilised life—towns unequalled for architectural grandeur, for the size and variety of the temples “upreared of human hands,” and the enormous wealth of the warehouses and the bops—towns, too, over which the civilisation and the religion of the West have partially spread a benign and enlightening influence, substituting the science and truth developed in Europe for the superstition and empiricism which for ages have darkened the Oriental world. Add to all this, thousands upon thousands of villages, margined by luxurious groves, and tenanted by millions of the swarthy children of the sun, who till the land with primitive ploughs, drawn by small bullocks, and irrigated by the rude methods transmitted to them by ancestors whose origin is so remote as to have baffled the research of the most diligent antiquary. And there you have, photographed in your mind’s eye, a rough sketch

of the surface of an empire of surpassing interest and importance.

In the annals of Hindostan, previous to A.D. 1000, preposterous fiction is so mixed up with vague tradition and the suggestions of imaginative poets, that no just conclusions can be drawn respecting the early history of the country. Our only guides are—the monumental remains, for the most part *basci rātri*, and carved columns in and upon temples hewn out of the solid rocks of Western India, the sacred books called the Puranas, and two epic poems, bearing the titles, severally, of *Ramayat*—or *The Exploits of Rama*, and *The Mahābhārat*—or *Achievements of Krishnu*. “They contain, in their form, decisive evidence of their traditional origin—nearly all are described as repeated by some person who had heard the story from another.” The monumental reliques are destitute of dates, or clues to dates, and on these points the poetical legends are equally obscure. One thing, however, seems certain: the sacred and profane histories of the Hindoos correspond, in character, with those of the Greeks. Their gods were heroes and vagabonds, and their goddesses more remarkable for vivacity and violence than for the gentler attributes of their sex. A few very brief descriptions of some of these mythological personages will suffice to convey an idea of the qualities the Hindoo learns—from his earliest youth—to venerate, and which form the basis of his character. We will take Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu (the first three forming the *trimurti*, or triple-headed god), Krishnu, and Kalee.

Brahma, according to the Hindoo mythology, was the Creator, from volition, of the waters, the earth, a number of sages, and four females. One of the sages was Kushyupa, the father of the gods, great men, and giants. He appears to have been a great thief—a sort of sacred Rob Roy; for it is recorded of him, that he once “lifted” an indefinite number of calves from the herd, which Krishnu was tending. He was given to intoxication; and in his cups on one occasion took upon himself to assert that he was as great a god as Shiva, who—greatly incensed, and also drunk—

conceived the dignified intention of cutting off one of Kushyupa's heads, but was bound over to keep the peace by his less intoxicated associates.

Shiva has many separate forms—the principal, that of the Destroyer. The old images represent him with no fewer than eight hands ; in one of which he holds the figure of a human being, and “the rest are occupied by swords, basins of blood, and so forth.” The Reverend Mr. Ward, a missionary, who dived deeply into the records and manners of the Hindoos, and described them minutely, says of the idol Shiva, in his destroying character :—“This is the image of a smoke-coloured boy, with three eyes, clothed in red garments ; his hair stands erect, his teeth are very large, he wears a necklace of human skulls, and a large turban of his own hair ; in one hand he holds a stick, and in the other the foot of a bedstead, and makes a very terrific appearance.”

Vishnu is a quieter kind of deity. As Brahma created, and Shiva destroyed, it was Vishnu's duty to preserve. He is the oldest Hindoo “conservative” on record. But in the images he also holds a club, wherewith to punish the wicked ; and it is related of him, on authority as unquestionable as any possessed by Hindoos, that, upon being praised for some of his acts, he gave loose to indecorous exultation, actually dancing with the entrails of a victim hanging round his neck ! To do Vishnu justice, however, effeminacy rather than violence seems to have been his leading characteristic. He is generally seen either seated on a throne of the sacred lotus, with his *favorite* wife in his arms, or standing on a lotus pedestal between his two wives. He had a thousand names, and many avatars or incarnations. He is yet, according to the Hindoos, to have another avatar, when the dissolution of the world will take place.

Krishnu was a deified mortal, descended from a race of kings, but obliged to fly from the persecution of a Herod of his time. He was concealed and brought up by a gawala, or cow-driver. “This,” says Mr. Elphinstone, the author of a History of India, “is the period which has

made most impression on the Hindoos, who are never tired of celebrating his frolics and exploits as a child—his stealing milk and destroying serpents—and among whom there is an extensive sect which worship him under his infant form.” He always excites great enthusiasm among his female worshippers, for he spent his youth amongst the Gopees (dairy-maids), dancing, sporting, and playing on the pipe, “and captivating the hearts not only of his rural companions, but of the princesses of Hindostan, who had witnessed his beauty.” Krishnu, in Irish, means the Sun, and the frolicsome deity seems to have possessed many of the attributes of the Apollo of the Greeks—at times the glorious orb, at others frisking on earth with Dorceases and Mopsas.

Kalee, the last worth mentioning, is, in the Hindoo mythology, the wife of Shiva, in his destructive character, and she seems to have excelled him in ferocity. Her image is frightful: dishevelled hair, a necklace of human heads, a girdle of blood-stained hands, a wild expression of countenance, her tongue dangling out of her mouth, a sword in her hand, and her feet trampling upon her prostrate husband, present a horrible compound, highly complimentary to the Hindoo power of imagination.

A pretty group! There are a few other “guardians of the world,” and three hundred and thirty millions of lesser deities; but, as they have nearly all ceased to be worshipped, the reader must be contented with the four or five whose names have been submitted to him.

The Brahmins, who worshipped all these deities, appear to have come from the north of Hindostan—*i. e.*, the Punjab (or Country of the Five Rivers) and Cashmere—and to have subdued the savages or Sudras, who had previously occupied the country. The Brahmins settled themselves in the western districts, and something was learnt of them by the Greeks, who, under Alexander the Great, advanced as far as the southernmost of the five rivers, the Sutlej, three hundred and twenty years before the birth of Christ.

It is not, however, until the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, that we begin to get clear

and connected glimpse of the history of India. If the reader, still keeping the map before him, will now look to the west of the river Indus, he will see the words Ghuzni, Candahar, and Cabul, each following the other in a northerly direction. These three words represent the principal towns in Afghanistan, or the country of the Afghans. These people, originally hordes of military adventurers, had become Mahomedans, within half a century from the first promulgation of the religion of Mahomet, in A.D. 622 ; and, inspired by a passion for proselytism and the love of plunder, soon began to make incursions into the territory of the Hindoos. "Avarice and bigotry," writes Dr. Cooke Taylor, "combined to stimulate the marauders to cruelty, for they regarded their victims as at once the most wealthy and the most obstinate of idolators." But their incursions did not extend beyond the Punjab. As yet, the river Sutlej had not been dyed with the blood of the heathen, mingling in strife with the fierce followers of Islamism. The year 1004 first beheld the Afghan's footprint in the sands of Upper India. Mahmoud of Ghuzni, who had ascended the throne of the Afghans—a bigot and a warrior—had been taught in his childhood that he was destined by Heaven to extirpate idolatry, and establish the creed of Islam beyond the Indies. For twenty years, he was engaged in successive expeditions. "Pillage and the Prophet!" were the watchwords of his fiendlike followers. Town after town yielded to their attacks. The mind is fatigued and sickened by the succession of horrors perpetrated to gratify fanaticism and avarice: cities were burnt, temples destroyed, idols broken, and such a "multitude of captives driven into slavery, that in the Mahomedan camp the price of a strong man was only five English shillings." If bestiality and cruelty are, in a manner, inculcated by the Hindoo emblems of religion, every species of brutality and wickedness spring from Mahomedanism. How well Colonel Davidson makes a Hindoo describe a Mussulman, in his drama of *Tara, the Suttee!* The Kutwal, a Moslem functionary, says to one Chirishnoo :—

“ Turn to our faith ;  
 With spirit pure, repeat those blessed words,  
 ‘ There is no God but God,—Mahammed was  
 His Prophet.’

\* \* \* \* \*

Mount a stout horse, and boldly plunder all ;  
 Acquire a gallant name ; let tribute due  
 Be paid to me—the ‘ Pillar of the State.’

*Chrishnoo—(solus, the Kutch having quitted the scene.)*  
 Thou hast described thy tribe. Wild hog and wolf  
 Combined ; devastating, impure. Their tracks  
 By ruined cities traced, or smokeless plains.  
 Bound by no ties but those that brutes obey ;  
 Intolerant withal, and boasting loud  
 Of fiendish precepts from their dark Koran—  
 The son a rebel to his father’s rule,  
 The father jealous of his son’s renown :  
 Revengeful both, implacable till death,  
 Unlearned, but in the law ; the law a curse  
 And punishment on man. Unchivalrous  
 Alike nawaub and slave—unfaithful all.

\* \* \* \* \*

How groaned our land, until their crimes outweighed  
 The errors of our race and kicked the beam !”

Mahmoud, the Ghuznivide, advanced into Guzerat, north of Bombay, in the year 1004, and plundered the rich temple of Somnath, carrying away with him the curiously-carved gates. Pleased with the trophies of his invasion, and the facility of conquest, he repeated his forays twelve times. His successors emulated his oppressive example.

For five hundred years subsequent to the last invasion of Mahmoud, the progress of conquest southward was only interrupted by the disturbances in Central Asia, which kept the Affghans continually employed. In 1193, DELHI, a large town in the centre of Upper India, was wrested from the Hindoos by Mohammed, the then ruler at Cabul, and made the seat of empire. The path of Mohammed to military success was as bloodstained as that of his predecessors. Husbandmen abandoned their fields, and fled

to the woods, living by rapine. The King surrounded the forests with his army, and, closing in upon the poor refugees, murdered them all. His dynasty did not last long; it was succeeded by another and another. Tamerlane, or Timour Lung, the Tartar—who invaded Central Asia, Persia, Georgia, and India, at the beginning of the fifteenth century—excelled even the sanguinary Affghans in cruelty. He massacred all the inhabitants of Batner; he slaughtered all the people of Samara and all the towns in his route; and when he reached Delhi he put to death everybody above the age of fifteen years, to the number, according to Mahomedan historians, of 100,000. Enough of these sickening illustrations of the sanguinary nature of the Mussulman. Contemporary narratives, in which horrors on horrors' head accumulate, render needless a recurrence to the frightful details of the past. Suffice it to say, that Tamerlane, after spreading anarchy throughout India, depopulating cities, and plundering the people of their wealth, turned his back upon the country. The empire then fell to pieces, and independent monarchies arose in every part of India. But in the year of our Lord 1525, Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane—a highly-gifted, and, for a Mahomedan, a tolerably good man—reconquered the empire of Delhi, and endeavoured to give it permanence. “He had no thought of halting at the imperial city, nor of returning to his royal home. He had not come merely as a conqueror and spoliator: he had come to establish a great empire on the banks of the Hindoo rivers; and he realised, in the fulness of time, the frequent dreams of an imaginative boyhood.” At his death, however, the revolt of a nobleman of the house of Ghor upset the house of Timour; and the Ghoriens, in their turn, were driven from power, about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the son of Baber, who reigned a few years, and was succeeded by his son Akbar.

It was at this period that the maritime nations of Europe began to visit India by the route round the Cape of Good Hope. Thitherto the produce and manufactures of the far East had found their way to the West *via* the Red Sea only,

enriching Venice and Genoa, and giving them vast moral weight in the polities of Europe.

Before, however, we speak of the land which Englishmen—following in the footsteps of the adventurous Portuguese—were to visit for the first time, it will be as well to give some description of the people with whom our countrymen now became acquainted.

It has been said, that the rule of the Hindoos had displaced the Sudras or Mleechas, a people very low in the scale of civilisation; and that the Hindoos, in their turn, had been supplanted in authority by the Musulmans or Mahomedans. Thus, in the early part of the sixteenth century, the population of India consisted of Mahomedans, Hindoos, and people of no cultivation,—the proportion of the two latter vastly exceeding that of the former, whose fierceness, determination, and mighty prowess more than compensated for their numerical inferiority.

The Hindoos, a dark-coloured race, were—we may write are, for their manners, customs, and religion seem immutable—divided by the dictates of the earliest laws, written in the sacred books or *Vedas*, into four distinct classes or castes. The word *caste* comes from the Portuguese word *casta*, race or lineage; for the Portuguese, being the first Europeans who visited India, were naturally struck with the singularity of this social institution, and soon found a name wherewith to designate it. The true origin of the divisions of caste is, according to the common phrase of historians, “lost in the darkness of antiquity;” but their traditions, respecting the singular separation of millions of human beings into classes, having distinct hereditary pursuits, may be given, as there is no other authority to rely upon. The four castes are—first, the Brahmins or Brahmanas, the holy or priestly set; second, the Shatriyas, who are the military class; third, the Vaisyas, or cultivators; and fourth, the Sudras, or menials. There are many subordinate sects, but these are the only principal divisions. The preposterous origin assigned to the separation of the great Hindoo family is of a piece with the prolific invention which enters into all the representations of the

people of India. In the Jatemala, a book in the Sanscrit, or holy language, is to be found this story :—

“ In the first creation of Brahma, Brahmanas proceeded, with the Veda (or sacred book), from the mouth of Brahma. From *his arms* Shatriya sprang; so from *his thigh*, Vaisya; from *his foot* the Sudras were produced, all with their females.

“ When Brahma paraded his produce, he courteously asked them, ‘ What should be their occupations?’ They replied, ‘ We are not our own masters, O God! command us what to undertake.’ Viewing and comparing their labours, he made the first tribe superior to the rest. As the first had great inclination for the divine sciences, he was made a Brahmin. The protector from ill was Shatriya. Him whose profession consists in commerce, which promotes the success of wars, for the protection of himself and mankind, and in husbandry and attendance upon cattle, he called Vaisya. The other should voluntarily serve the three tribes, and therefore he became a Sudra: he should humble himself at their feet.”

The Vedas, from the Sanscrit root *vid*, to know, contain the sum of all knowledge. The divine origin imputed to them, of course, placed their doctrine beyond all argument or question. It is affirmed in the Jatemala that they came from the mouth of Brahma: Munnoo, however, a profound lawgiver, assigns to them another origin: they were, he says, *milked* by Brahma from fire, air, and the sun. Either origin will satisfy the English reader, who will probably ascribe books, which so thoroughly enslaved the men who believed in them, entirely to the ingenuity of priesthood. Munnoo—the patriarchal sage, who instituted a system of law from the text-book of the Hindoos—to this hour is said to have been the son or grandson of Brahma; he was the first of rational beings, whence his name *mun*, “ to understand.” His institutes are regarded not only as the oldest, but as the holiest, text after the Vedas. The three first castes only are permitted to *read* the Vedas—a Sudra would, in the olden time, have been put to death were he to attempt to cast his eyes on the sacred volumes. The teaching and interpretation of the Vedas, however, is the exclusive privilege of the Brahmins, who were, in earlier times, the royal councillors, the judges and magistrates of

the country, or they passed their time in performing sacrifices to the gods and meditating on divine objects, until their numbers became so great that the other castes found their support in idleness an intolerable tax ; when advantage was taken of a passage in Munnoo, to enable them to embrace the profession of arms, to live by trade, to till the land, to practise medicine, painting, &c.—in fact, even to perform menial service. Thus, then, the peculiar privileges of the Brahmans, at the present day, are founded entirely upon their supposed sacred origin ; and, like all privileged classes, they exact the utmost deference from every one who is sufficiently trammeled by superstition to believe in the punishments prescribed by the Vedas, as the portion of all who disregard the sacerdotal claims. Time was, when Brahmans might commit the highest crimes almost with impunity ; their persons and property were inviolable ; their interference with family affairs was deemed a particular favour ; it was a moral offence to question their integrity. All that has been changed under the equitable administration of the English. The Brahmans are, equally with the rest of the people, amenable to British law, and their influence is limited to the reverence which inferior castes pay to the descendants of Kushyupa.

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## CHAPTER II.

The Brahminical faith — The usages of caste — The cruelties and barbarities practised in the name of religion — Suttee and infanticide — Ghaut murders — Habits of Indian life — The progress of European discovery and settlement in India — The Portuguese — The Dutch — The English — The first charter — Sir Thomas Roe's embassy — Akbar and Shah Jehan.

AN acquaintance with the religious principles and usages of a people is so essential to a correct understanding of their character, that a few words upon the subject of the tenets of Hindooism may not inappropriately follow upon a sketch of the origin of the Brahminical faith.

The religion of the Hindoos—more perhaps, than any other of which we have a knowledge—enters into every act of their lives, and every feeling of their hearts; although it is one that overbears nature, and feeling, and principle altogether. An able writer observes—“It is one peculiar excellence of the Christian system, in its purity, that it is wholly a religion of principle. It teaches that ‘bodily exercise profiteth little;’ it makes little of external observances, excepting in so far as these are the spontaneous effusions of the heart; and it provides for the rectification of the heart, so that all good works may become a willing and spontaneous service. Thus it is that the Christian, while ‘not without love to Christ,’ is, in the highest and best sense of the term, the only free man. He does just what he likes, for his God enables him to like just what he ought to do. But with the Hindoo system it is precisely the reverse. It takes no account of the feelings or affections of the soul: its demands are fully satisfied when a certain round of external observances is complied with.”

These observances take an infinite number of forms. They commence at the birth of the Hindoo, and terminate only with his death. Prayer, fasting, ablution, donations to temples, alms to beggars, abstinence from labour, sacrifices, marking the forehead with ashes, investing the person with a girdle or cord emblematic of the regeneration of man, betrothal, marriage, and funeral rites, the construction and consecration of idols, are all seriously and punctually observed ceremonials; many of them attended with a lavish expenditure of money, a large consumption of time, and the perpetuation of the power and wealth of the priesthood. The failure to perform any of these ceremonies involves the *loss of caste*—a species of moral outlawry and social degradation, which the Hindoo holds in great horror. As if to multiply the chances of his debasement, many acts of the Hindoos, apart from prescribed religious usage, are rendered amenable to the penalty of loss of caste. To eat forbidden food, or drink intoxicating liquors—to slay any animal of the cow kind—to eat in company with persons of another caste, or of food dressed by their impure hands—to

eat on board ship, food that has been dressed there, &c., are all offences which place a high-caste Hindoo beyond the pale of society. Nay, the mere approach of a person of another religion to the spot where the culinary operations of the poorest native are being performed, is held to pollute both the food and the caste; and villagers have been known to destroy their meal on a European's riding past, although, perhaps, they have not had a single penny in the world wherewith to procure another. In a satirical poem (called *Qui Hi?*),\* published some fifty years since, a graphic sketch is given of a group of naked Hindoos destroying their cooking-pots in the presence of the Marquis of Hastings (the Governor-General of India) and his wife; and the accompanying letterpress runs thus:—

“ Whether from ignorance or not,  
 The great man now approached the spot  
 Where sat some poor Hindoos at dinner,  
 Who soon perceived the noble sinner,  
 And mark the consequence—alas !  
 Their excellencies cannot pass ;  
 For obstacles, not quite expected,  
 Are with their evening’s ride connected.  
 But what were *Qui Hi*’s feelings, when  
 He saw the women and the men,  
 Deliberately, in a trice,  
 Destroy both chatties†, milk, and rice !  
 And when their brows with rage did low’r,  
 They thus addressed the man of power—  
 ‘ What for come *Burra Sahib*‡ this way ?  
 Not here see Hindoo men make stay ?  
 Look, master ! everything make spill :  
 Better that master Hindoo kill,  
 Than come near people when they eat.

\* *Qui hi*, or *Kooee Hye*, is the Bengalee phrase meaning *Who’s there?* As no bells are used in the houses of the gentry in India, the servants sit at the doors of the dining or drawing room, or study, and are called by the masters and mistresses when wanted by the phrase *Qui hi*, to which they instantly reply by appearing. Hence all the English in Bengal are called by the Europeans of other parts of India *Qui his*.

† The *chatty* is a vessel or vase of baked earth—a rude kind of cooking-pot, nearly spherical in form.

‡ Great man.

See Beebee (wife), mate, friend and child  
 Make cry, for it think master wild :  
 Master go 'way—custom not right—  
 Or master will make Hindoo fight.'  
 He said, and, with a sudden stroke,  
 The last remaining *chatty* broke."

Not directly enjoined by their sacred books, nor connected with the prescriptions of caste, the Hindoos, nevertheless, follow several usages, which serve, at any rate, to show how completely their social institutions corrupt the heart and efface the common dictates of humanity. Among these were the rite of Suttee, or the burning of widows, the destruction of female infants, the murder of the sick on the banks of the Ganges, personal mutilation, and the sacrifices of human beings. It is very possible that these practices—prescribed by the Brahmins, and sustained by promises of eternal beatitude—may have originated in an anxious desire to prevent a too rapid increase of the population, at a time when the soil insufficiently supplied the wants of society. But the true reason would not have sufficed to extinguish the impulses of nature, and fraud was therefore employed to encourage the people to adopt the revolting practices. Every woman who cast herself on the funeral pile, with the body of her husband, was taught to believe in a joyful immortality. Every mother, who destroyed her female child, acted under the persuasion that the spared infant would become a disgrace to the family, because of the impossibility of providing it with a sufficient dower. The mind recoils with horror from the description of the deliberate barbarity which attended infanticide. Sometimes the child was strangled by the nurse, sometimes it was refused all sustenance from the breast;—among the Rajpoot tribe, the juice of the madder plant was administered; in Gwalior, poison was given in the shape of the tobacco leaf; in Central India, it was customary to dig a hole in the earth, fill it with milk, and drop the new-born babe into the lacteal pool; sometimes the nurse held her hand over the mouth, so that, by the check of respiration, life was extinguished. Frequently,

the deluded mother "applied the fatal cup with its narcotic draught to the lips of the helpless and unsuspecting innocent—or, as if to lacerate the feelings of humanity, in their tenderest point, she put opium on the nipple of her breast, which the child inhaling with its milk, died."

The murders of the sick on the banks of the Ganges (*Ghaut* murders, as they are called, from *ghaut*, a landing-place) were equally repugnant to all sound feelings of humanity with the suttees and female infanticide, and possibly more perversive of the best affections of our nature. The practice originated in a tradition which gave to the Ganges a holy origin. The river is supposed to have had its source in the head of the third personage of the Hindoo triad, and the Hindoo impression arising out of this belief is, that bathing in the Ganges is a duty and a privilege; and dying on its banks, or actually under its waves, a sure method of attaining everlasting blessedness. Accordingly, when the disease of a patient arrives at such a stage as to render any further attempt at his recovery fruitless, he is borne by his friends and relatives to the edge of the river, and there they "*give him Ganges*"—in other words they immerse him partially in the water, or fill his mouth and ears with as much as is sure to produce suffocation, and then return home with the pleasing consciousness that they have done their duty. Thus a poor sick wretch has not a chance of life. If left at home and nurtured, he might recover; but, by exposure to the cold, the jolting of the litter which conveys him to the water side, the noise, pain, and worry attendant upon his removal, and the final draught of cold muddy water, death is accelerated. When the man is rich, and his wealth is coveted for the temples of his idols or the aggrandisement of his family; it may be conceived that the *ghaut* suggests a ready method of making the most of his illness.

Such were (we fear that in some parts of India under native rule we must still write *are*) the religious practices of the Hindoos, when Englishmen first visited India. Their social usages and their status in the scale of civilization may be shortly described. They lived simply upon milk, butter, ve-

getables, and sugar, spices, wheat and rice; the flesh of birds and animals, with the rare exception of the kid and lamb, they avoided; fish was eaten by those who dwelt by the sea-side and the banks of rivers. The clothing of the better classes was of muslin of a delicate texture; the masses were destitute of all habiliments but a small piece of cloth tied round the loins. The richer people indulged in jewelled decorations; for gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, were then abundant. Perpetually exposed to the incursions of northern foes, and intestine feuds, they were warlike without understanding the art of war. Their sovereigns went into the field with hundreds of elephants and richly-caparisoned horses; the lance, the bow, and the scymitar were their chief weapons. Justice was little better than a name in their civil courts; corruption eat to the very core of society. The lives of the upper classes were divided between debauchery and religious ceremonials. Of the sciences they had but an imperfect knowledge; astronomy and its results, as applied to harvests and navigation, were understood, and architecture had made considerable way; but medicine was a villainous quackery at best.

The Mahomedans, who, next to the Hindoos, comprised the bulk of the population, had their feasts and ceremonies, in commemoration of the birth and death of Mahomet, and of some events in the lives of his immediate relatives. They likewise abstained considerably from animal food, and clothed themselves according to their means. But they had no Suttees, infanticides, or Ghaut murders; the cruelty of their nature found vent in the persecution and murder of those who did not believe in the Prophet.

The rest of the population of India—a mere fraction in comparison with the Hindoos and Mussulmans—was composed of Parsees, or fire-worshippers, who had fled from Persian persecution, and found an asylum on the western shores of India; the savage hill-tribes, of no religion at all; the pariahs; and the Christians of the sout, who had acquired a spurious sort of Christianity from the teachings

of the Roman Catholic and Jesuit missionaries, who had found their way to India under the auspices of St. Thomas the Apostle—at least so runs the tradition.

King Henry VII. sat upon the throne of England when Western Europe opened a communication with the shores of India round the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese were the first to find their way to the empire of the Great Mogul. Navigation, under the Henrys, Johns, and Alphonsos, had made much progress at the close of the fifteenth century. The astrolabe had been invented: the spherical form of the earth was insisted upon and demonstrated by Columbus, the Genoese; Lusitanian mariners had passed the torrid girdle, and found that it neither scorched men nor ships; the impression that out of the view of the coasts were to be encountered frightful sea-monsters and annihilating tempests, had been dissipated. The “Cape of Storms” had exchanged its appalling title for the more cheering appellation of the “Cape of Good Hope.” Portugal believed that a path had been discovered to the rich East, and she exulted at the prospect of rivalling Venice in her wealth and grandeur. Venice was at this time the mistress of the civilized world—

“A ruler of the waters and their powers.

\* \* \* her daughters had their dowers

From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East

Pour’d in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.

In purple was she rob’d, and of her feast

Monarchs partook, and deemed their dignity increased.”

It was natural that a position of such vast importance should excite the envy of the rest of Europe, and especially of that portion which cherished a belief in its capacity to balance political power by opening a road of its own to the source of so much wealth. Bartolomeo Diaz had shown the way which the Pharaohs of old had traversed: Vasco de Gama was to carry the first venture by that route. Three caravels, of about 100 tons’ burthen each, not bigger than our first-class yachts, were equipped for the voyage. How charmingly has Camoens sung the

incidents of the departure! The shores were covered with weeping women and children and sorrowing old men. The return of a single mariner from what was regarded as a desperate and hopeless enterprise seemed impossible ; but De Gama had a stout heart and strong confidence. Favouring breezes carried the little fleet to the shores of India, with very few casualties.

History relates that Vasco de Gama had much to encounter from the duplicity, cupidity, and treachery of the viceroys upon the western or Malabar coast of India ; but he managed to open a traffic with the people, and returned home in safety. In a few years the commerce between Portugal and India became general ; the former state had factories in the south and west of the great Peninsula, and had obtained a footing in some of the islands which lie to the south-east of India, and go by the name of the Eastern Archipelago. The Dutch, better navigators than the English, followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese ; and, by the time Queen Mary had seated herself on the English throne, our own countrymen had begun to venture to the western shores.

At this period, Akbar reigned in India. His empire extended little beyond the Punjab and the country around Delhi and Agra, when he first mounted the throne ; but, "year by year, he extended his conquests, until the rich country of Bengal lay at his feet, and Cashmere became a province of the empire." He next cast his eyes to the south and began the conquest of the Deccan, which he partly achieved before his death. But not only was he successful with the sword : what he won as a soldier-prince, he secured and consolidated as an able legislator. "He was happiest," says a distinguished author, "when engaged in the work of civil administration ; and history delights to contemplate him rather as a philanthropic statesman, whose internal policy has placed him in the first rank of the great kings of all ages and all countries, than as a warrior whose victories have secured him the applause of mere vulgar and unreflecting minds."

There is no record of the name of the Englishman who

was the first to set foot upon the shores of India. No doubt, several very rough adventurers had found their way down the Red Sea with the Venetians, and had managed to get up to the seat of Mahomedan empire, to serve the Emperor as cannoneers ; but their names have perished. Historians have not condescended to notice any earlier adventurers than the men who took the legitimate road, round the Cape of Good Hope. Ralph Fitch crossed the desert, from Tripoli to the Persian Gulf, and so went forward to Bengal, Pegu, Siam, and the Moluccas, returning to touch at Ceylon, Cochin, and Calicut, but he only obtains a passing word ; and even Cavendish, who went round the world, and made a report of the fortunes which might be realised by trading to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope, has left but a slender clue to the nature of his visit. However, we owe to Cavendish the formation of the first English East India Company. Our merchants, impressed by his statements, applied to Queen Elizabeth for a charter. They had subscribed nearly 400,000*l.*, in 50*l.* shares and panted for an opportunity of rivalling the Dutch and the Portuguese. Nothing loth, the Virgin Queen put her signature to the charter of incorporation, and Thomas Smyth, the first governor or chairman, and his twenty-four colleagues, began operations in right earnest. They fitted out five vessels, under Captain or Commodore Lancaster, and sent them to the Eastern Archipelago. The voyage was profitable ; other expeditions followed, and went on to the Malabar Coast. The Dutch and the Portuguese, alarmed at the appearance of these intruders on their monopoly—for, much as they disliked Venetian selfishness, they had no objection to an exclusive appropriation of the trade themselves—attacked Sir Henry Middleton and Captain Best, two English commanders, off the north-western coast of India. Both Portuguese and Dutch were defeated. The English obtained a footing at Surat. Akbar, the Emperor, heard of the event, and he and his court were not displeased that a power had arisen capable of correcting the arrogance of the earlier western traders. The Governor of the East India Company, a man wise in

his generation, resolved to profit by the favourable impression created at the Court of Delhi. He represented to the minister of the crown that an excellent opportunity offered for strengthening the position of the English in India ; and cannie King James the First was too much alive to the chance of turning an honest penny, to lend an indifferent ear to the proposals of his responsible advisers. The result was, that one Sir Thomas Roe was appointed ambassador to the court of the Great Mogul, with instructions to obtain from that monarch a treaty whereby the English were to have permission to trade freely throughout his Moslem Majesty's dominions.

The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe is one of the most quaint and amusing volumes of the time. He was villainously provided for his expedition. We marvel at the present day, when rich gifts are lavished on princes, at the penuriousness of the arrangements which were to seduce the Emperor of Delhi into sundry important concessions. If Sir Thomas had been deputed to the African coast, to exchange beads and scissors for ivory and golddust, he could not have been more wretchedly sent out. He had a few very small tents, and a miserable retinue ; and the tempting articles which constituted his "presents" amounted to some razors, penknives, combs, wine-glasses, night-caps, scent-bags, and pictures—the latter of which were equally primitive in conception and execution. The ambassador's allowance was so small that he could not entertain the officers of the Mogul's court upon even a respectable scale ; but he made up, in some sort, for the deficiency of his means in this respect by the excellence of his Alicant wine, for an occasional bottle of which the Mahomedan nobles and princes had no disrelish.

Sir Thomas first went to Guzerat, where the English had factories at Surat, Cambay, Gozo, and Ahmedabad. He gives a sad account of the roystering, boozing peculiarities of his countrymen. They fully justified Iago's description of their "potency in potting." The Dane and the "swagbellied Hollander were nothing to your English!" The great Akbar had died after a reign of fifty

years' duration, and Jehanghire was now the Great Mogul. Jehanghire received Sir Thomas Roe at Ajmere, a town more central than Delhi, and gave the ambassador a friendly reception. He needed it, after his toilsome journey, in which he often suffered great privations. The necessaries of life, especially good water, were frequently not procurable on the road. The concessions sought by the East India Company were obtained at the interview, and Sir Thomas returned home.

It were beyond the limits of this sketch to describe all the subsequent embassies and visits, which tended to strengthen our good understanding with the mighty Moguls, and to enlarge the sphere of our trading operations. Bye-and-bye, we had factories on the Coromandel, or eastern, as well as the Malabar, or western, coasts ; and when Shah Jehan, the son of Jehanghire, was on the throne (1636), permission was given us to form a commercial establishment on the river Hooghly, upon the site of the modern city of Calcutta. This latter privilege was a tribute to the superior medical service of an Englishman. When the East India Company's ship 'Hopewell' lay off Surat, a daughter of the Emperor was taken ill. Discarding the charlatanerie of the Moslem Hakims, or doctors, Shah Jehan sent to Surat for the aid of an English physician, and one Dr. Gabriel Boughton was despatched immediately to attend upon her. His skill triumphed, and Shah Jehan, who—to judge from the unapproachable magnificence of the tomb he erected to his lovely wife, the "Light of the World"—had an affectionate heart, granted Boughton an imperial firman, or royal permission, to trade to Bengal by sea. This, by the way, is not the only instance on record of valuable public benefits having accrued to England from the personal services rendered to Oriental monarchs by her medical practitioners : Hamilton, James Burns, and John Macniel ("Sir John" of Crimean renown), are names which readily occur to the writer as those of general benefactors of their species, and able pioneers of special political advantages.

Behold us, then, with our feet planted on the soil of

India, competing with the jealous Portuguese and arousing the bitter antipathies of the envious Dutch. The former, by the middle of the seventeenth century, had been pretty nearly displaced by the latter, and had, indeed, altogether descended from their original "pride of place." The successors of De Gama and Cabral had degenerated to a race of blacks, who usurped—and to this hour retain—the name of "Portuguese." This was the result of the policy of Albuquerque, who conquered Goa in Western India, and, imitating Alexander the Great, conceived the idea of colonising the country by forcing his followers to marry the daughters of the Mussulmans and Hindoos, whom he took prisoners. There is not a genuine Portuguese, perhaps, now in India: they are all half-castes, or baptized natives, following the Roman Catholic religion, as bequeathed by their progenitors, or introduced by the Jesuits. If Napoleon I. had lived, and conquered the West Indies, he would (so says Las Casas) have similarly "colonised" the Windwards and Leewards. He purposed making his *groggnards* marry the negresses, thus amalgamating the Franks and the Caribbeans, and identifying "L'Empire" with the Western Archipelago.

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### CHAPTER III.

Delhi in the time of Aurungzebe — The government of Akbar — Sivajee the Mahratta — The Portuguese pirates — Their suppression — The Jesuits in India — The two English companies — The cession of Bombay to Charles II. — Abraham Shipman at Ajendival — Captain Kegwin — Rival interests and collisions — Establishments of the English on the Coromandel Coast and the banks of the Hooghly — Joh Charnock — The British possessions and factories in India in the reign of Queen Anne.

ONE more glance at the condition of India, when we had gained a footing in the country, and fifty years before we began to acquire military renown and territorial posses~~sion~~.

Let us take the year 1702—the year which has been justly said to close the “Company’s stage of infancy.”

The musnud, or throne of Delhi, then called Shah Jehanabad, or the city of Shah Jehan, was now occupied by Aurungzebe, one of the sons of the latter emperor. Aurungzebe had had to contend for his authority with his three brothers; for the law of succession had not taken such firm root as to render it easy for heirs apparent to grasp the sceptre, when death removed it from a Great Mogul’s hand. Delhi had become a magnificent town. The mosques, the palace, and the courts of justice, were lofty and spacious, built of white marble and red sandstone, and either richly enamelled or profusely but tastefully decorated with flowers and passages from the Koran, in jasper, lapis lazuli, agate, and bloodstone. Mirrors and gilding added to the dazzling effect of the ornamental interior; and pearls, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones studded the chairs of royalty. The “peacock throne” was long an object of the admiration of travellers. Fountains played in terraces and avenues, in halls and vestibules, while the perfume of the rose and the jasmine, the song of a thousand birds, and the rich and graceful foliage of the plantain and the orange-tree, more than atoned for the geometric formality of the parterres and *allées* of the garden. The brocade and silken costumes of king, princes, nobles, glittered with gold; their horses, elephauts, and palankeens, were gorgeously decorated with trappings and housings. If the shops and abodes of the artisans did not exhibit any architectural beauty, their contents, at least, were of a very valuable character. Here were workers in silk, and workers in ivory, cunning jewellers, expert cutlers, and dexterous weavers. The scarves, the filagree ornaments, and the swords of Delhi manufacture, acquired at an early period the renown they now enjoy. Men of (oriental) science had been encouraged to visit Delhi, and there was accordingly, in Aurungzebe’s time, no lack of Hindoo or Mahomedan astrologers at the court. There were, also, architects and engineers, who constructed canals and aqueducts which contributed to the health of the town.

and the convenience of the people. But, for all that, old Delhi was, and modern Delhi is, a dreadfully hot place of abode. Bernier relates that it was impossible to hold the hands against the walls of one's chamber, or lay one's head upon a cushion, for everything was baked or scorched. For six months in the year, people were obliged to sleep at night in the open air, in the streets or gardens, or on the terraces above their houses, previously watering the ground. The population was for the most part Mussulman; bigoted, fierce, and sensual. But there were, also, within the walls of the city, thousands of Hindoos, and crowds of vagabonds of low caste, or of no caste at all.

Akbar had spread his conquests to the mouth of the Ganges; and, to the extreme verge of the Peninsula, the country was administered by his viceroys. There was one at Moorshedabad, in Bengal; another at Hyderabad, in the Deccan; a third ruled the province of Oude; a fourth governed Guzerat. But the south-western part of India was tolerably free from Mahomedan control. During the reign of Aurungzebe, one Sivajee, a Mahratta of the Hindoo faith, in the service of the King of Bejapore, who had entrusted to him the command of ten thousand cavalry, threw off his allegiance and founded a separate empire. He died in 1680, but his son and his son's son carried on the war against the dominant Mahomedan power; and the Mahratta chieftains, coming down from the western mountains under their auspices, ravaged the provinces, and made Sattara their head-quarters. They thus acquired an immense territory, and became a very formidable power, alike a terror to the Mussulmans and the western traders, upon whom they levied heavy contributions.

On the coasts and the seas of India there roved innumerable pirates, English as well as Portuguese, who had been tempted to sail round the Cape by the fame of the wealth of the legitimate traders. In Bengal, the Portuguese—driven from their factories and possessions in Malabar, excepting Goa and Bombay—had planted themselves on the banks of the Hooghly, and on different parts of the coast of Lower Bengal; turning buccaneers, and committing all

sorts of atrocities. Chittagong, in the south-east, was their favourite nest. "It was," says Bernier, "the refuge of all the foreign (European) vagabonds that flocked together from similarity of circumstances and tastes. There were among them such as had abandoned monasteries, bigamists, rogues, and murderers; they led a life that was detestable and altogether unworthy of Christians, inasmuch as they impiously butchered and poisoned one another, and assassinated their own priests, who were sometimes not better than themselves. Their ordinary trade was robbery, piracy, and kidnapping. They broke in upon the festivals, assemblies, and weddings of the poor, carrying them off as slaves—literally as galley slaves—to row their boats, or they sold them at Goa and Ceylon, and on the Malabar coast. Appeals were made by the peaceful inhabitants to the Emperor, and, lest he should be supposed to countenance these misdeeds, he authorized Cossim Khan, a general and lieutenant of Bengal, to fall upon the Portuguese town of Hooghly, which he did in right good earnest. Churches, with their bells, were pulled down, for Mahomedan hatred came in aid of judicial vengeance; the men were massacred, the children, priests, and friars carried to Agra, the second great city in the empire; the handsomest of the Portuguese women were shut up in harems, and the lads were circumcised. The lesson was not lost—the piratical practices were in a manner suppressed."

The reference to priests and friars suggests a few words respecting the state of religion in the south and west of India at the period of which we treat.

There is a tradition—to this hour held in respect by the Roman Catholics of India—that St. Thomas the Apostle visited the country, and planted the cross among the Hindoos; and this tradition, great pains have been taken by the papistical missionaries to confirm and preserve. There is, however, no authentic record of the appearance of priests absolutely bent on conversion, until the middle of the sixteenth century. Vasco de Gama and his successors had, of course, chaplains on board their ships, who, on landing at Cochin, Calicut, &c., bore white banners, on

which the cross was emblazoned ; and elevating the host, amidst the ordinary marks of reverence, the chaunting praises, and scattering incense, excited the special wonder of the Hindoos. The churches which the early Portuguese built on the ground pertaining to their factories, and the towns which they acquired, lacked little of the magnificence which distinguished the cathedrals in the mother country : the altars were profusely adorned, effigies of the Saviour and pictures of the Virgin decorated the chapels. We know that the Catholics had an eye to the conversion of the people at a very early period, for the sacred banner was blessed at Belem, on the departure of De Gama's and Cabral's expeditions ; and the diffusion of the religion of Christ was deemed, by the adventurers, as serious a duty as the aggrandisement of the wealth and political importance of Lusitania. This rendered them anxious to dazzle the Hindoos with a form of worship, as least as pompous as their own. But it was not until 1545 that the first direct attempt was made by the Roman Catholics at proselytism. In that year, François Xavier landed at Cape Comorin. He belonged to the order of Jesuits, and had a high reputation for piety, zeal, and ability. He at once went to work to present the Gospel to the benighted idolators, and, according to some of the Popish historians, his success was prodigious. On the Pearl Fishery Coast, that is the southern coast of India, opposite the island of Ceylon, there were in nine or ten years five hundred thousand converts, "all fervent and desiring nothing more than to become martyrs for their faith." Yet Xavier, by his own honest account, left India disgusted and "disheartened by the apparent impossibility of making *real* converts."

In 1660, forty-two years before the epoch of which we treat, Charles II. had taken possession of the throne of his father. Charles I. had given a license to a Sir William Courtin and certain merchant adventurers to trade to India, to the detriment of the rights pertaining to the previously-existing London Company. The new company, who had gone to no trouble or expense to smooth the roughness of the commercial path, "cut clean across

the interests" of the older association, and caused infinite confusion, harassment, and loss: it was the source of oppression by the native powers, and it gave excuses to piracy. Nevertheless, it did not succeed independently of the first company, into which, after much negotiation, it merged. This mischievous Courtin Company was called by the previous monopolist the "*Interloper*"—a term which afterwards fell into common use, and to the last was employed by the officers of the East India Company to stigmatise independent settlers in India.

Sturdy Oliver Cromwell, unlike his feeble and necessitous predecessor, adhered manfully to the privileges of the London Company, in its amalgamated form. He had given an impetus to trade, by the Navigation Act, and particularly had he benefited commerce in India, by compelling the Dutch to make compensation to the London Company, for the massacre of our countrymen at Amboyna, &c. He thought it advisable not to interfere with the wise and prudent operations of that Company, by yielding to the entreaties of questionable speculators that he would open a free trade to India. Thus, at the time of the Restoration, our affairs in India were "progressing" favourably, and Charles II., in 1665, getting very little money with his bride, Catherine of Braganza, was glad to accept, by way of dower, the island of Bombay (*Bono baio*, or "good bay," as the Portuguese called it), in lieu of the coin he so much coveted.

But a virtual cession does not always imply actual possession. The island was not the "bird in the hand" for many a year, and, when obtained, like Gratiano's wit, it was "not worth the having." The King sent out the Earl of Marlborough at the head of a fleet, and Sir Abraham Shipman with a body of troops, to take possession of Bombay in his name; but the Portuguese governor, Antonio de Mello de Castro, refused to surrender it, and Shipman and his people were compelled to go to Ajendivah, a neighbouring island to await the pleasure of the governor. The climate of Ajendivah was detestable. Cooped up within its limits, execrably accommodated, and very short of pro-

visions, Sir Abraham and many of his followers soon died. Cook, his secretary, left the island with the survivors and went to Goa, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the English there. Soon afterwards, Bombay was formally surrendered to Mr. Cook, who, in his turn, gave up the reins of authority to Sir Gervaise Lucas, a governor specially appointed and sent out by the King. The seat of the East India Company, at this time, was SURAT, north-west of Bombay ; and the head of the board of administration was a “ president.” The two authorities soon came into collision : the King’s man thought himself a greater personage than the Company’s servant. Harmony was restored on the death of Lucas, which occurred in 1666, after a short tenure of office. In fact, no one in those days lived long in Bombay : the climate was no better than that of Ajendivah. There was little open ground in the vicinity of the harbour ; the dry land was covered with jungle ; and the sea, covering the shore around the island for several hours in the twenty-four, left, when it receded, abundant material for miasma. Yet the new governor established a factory on the island, and proceeded to raise fortifications, because Sivajee, the Mahratta, and Sidi, a “ Black Admiral,” threatened the island : the one from the land side ; the other from the little islands of Henery and Kenery, near the entrance to the harbour. Surat was equally menaced—nay, it had the additional disadvantage of being threatened by Dutch and French fleets. By the year 1684, Bantam, an island to the eastward, where the English had a flourishing factory, having been wrested from them by the Dutch, and restored to the native king, the Company determined to concentrate their trade as much as possible at Bombay ; which was guarded by a handful of troops, under the command of Captain Kegwin, a King’s officer. These troops (Europeans) formed the nucleus of the Bombay army. To them were added 500 Rajpoots (natives of a military caste) armed with matchlocks and swords. The co-existence of a King’s and a Company’s artillery, however, again became a source of disquietude : for Kegwin, being half-starved (the pay of a Member of Council was only

six shillings a day!) mutinied, and was about to be tried by the judge at Surat—and, of course, hanged—when Sir Thomas Grantham arrived as Governor, and a general amnesty put all things to rights again. From this time (1684) until A. D. 1702, the Bombay government had plenty of trouble on its hands. There were factories in Persia to look after, which required the continual presence and protection of ships of war; Bombay itself was beleaguered by the “Black Admiral,” whose operations the Jesuits were accused of assisting; the subordinate agents at Surat were persecuted and imprisoned by the Mogul authorities; the Danes rendered the English name detested in the Red Sea, by carrying on piracy under English colours; and, finally, the plague made such havoc in Bombay that only three civilians were left alive. In the laconic phraseology of McKenna, “great disorder prevailed in 1702.”

So much for the English in the West of India. What was their position on the eastern or Coromandel Coast?

In 1639, the English had obtained leave to erect a little fortress at Madraspatam, or Madras, to protect their property and persons from the Dutch and the pirates, who were more to be dreaded than the natives of the coast. This fort was called “Fort St. George,” and, although it has undergone many alterations and improvements, it still retains the name. In 1653, Madras was constituted the seat of the Company’s trading government; and the successive presidents thenceforward appear to have got on so well, that, by the end of the century, they had obtained for the Company various grants and concessions from the Rajah of Golcondah, and the Rajah of the Carnatic. Six companies of European troops had been sent out for the protection of the factories; and, like the government of Bombay, the president had strengthened the force by engaging the services of a few hundred natives of the military castes.

Turn we now to the English in Bengal. If the reader will refer to his map, he will see in the vicinity of Calcutta, in different directions within a range of 200 miles, the words Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Malda, Patna, Dacca, and

Balasore. At all of these places the English had factories. But the rapacity and fanaticism of the Mogul provincial governors allowed them but little peace. The Nawaub of Bengal, in 1686, seized their factory at Patna, compelled them to flee from Hooghly and take refuge at Chattanuttee, a village lower down the left bank of the river. At this juncture, Mr. Job Charnock was managing the Company's affairs : he tried in vain to make terms with the Nawaub. Part of the garrison of Fort St. George was sent up to afford aid and protection, but to no purpose. It was found necessary to retire to Madras. The Company's affairs in Bengal became much embarrassed, for pirates and interlopers completed what oppressive Mahomedan rulers left undone.

Nothing daunted, Job Charnock, three years subsequently, returned to Chattanuttee and there laid the foundation of the future great and splendid city of Calcutta. A fancy picture of portly Job's landing at the Ghaut has been prettily sketched by a writer, in a popular local periodical. He supposes the worthy and courageous Englishman, in the elegant costume of the time, half Flemish, half Spanish. He arrives in a large boat or budgerow, with the English flag flying at the mast-head ; he is carried ashore, and entering a palanquin, resembling an arm-chair borne on poles, he points to a wide-spreading peepul tree—a beautiful and delicate tree consecrated to the gods—and there he halts and sits beneath its grateful shade. The Naib and head men of the village come to meet him, and the result of their interview is a determination to make the place the seat of the English trade in Bengal. There is a temple in the neighbourhood dedicated to the frightful Kalee, the Destroyer, therefore shall the *locale* be called Kalee-katta, or Calcutta, and it is so named, accordingly. But what a life of discomfiture is the lot of Charnock and his friends ! Occupying small huts of bamboo and mud; with thatched roofs, shaded perhaps by the mango or the plantain tree ; living entirely upon poultry, and kid and goat mutton ; enjoying no better mitigation of the heat than could be afforded by a fan made of the dried leaves of the

coconut tree; compelled to squat on the ground, resting the back against pillows arranged round the sides of a room; content to eat off mats, and to be satisfied at night with cocoa-oil lamps, or candles stuck into brass candelabra: the early English trader pursued the task of making money for his masters and himself, and founding a city which was afterwards to become the seat of empire, and a vast emporium of the rich commerce between England and India. Of amusement, except gambling, there was little or none. The neighbourhood of Chattanooga was forest land, swarming with wild buffaloes and tigers, but as yet the Englishman had not turned hunter. Books were rarities, and a newspaper impossible. The only pastime of the settler was to sit and drink canary wine and empty bowls of punch—*Beb Pouir*, as Bernier called it—a compound of arrack, brown sugar, lemon-juice, and spice—"pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the body and to health." Intercourse with the natives was difficult, even among the lowest castes, for want of a community of language: the language in ordinary use was a bastard Portuguese, or *lingua franca*, mixed with a smattering of Hindostane, or "Moors," as it was called. Much mutual misconception naturally arose out of this absence of an intelligible tongue, and, on more than one occasion, was attended with direful consequences. The rules of the Hindoo caste were perpetually infringed, for who of the English had learnt aught about them?

This was the state of affairs at the three "Presidencies" of India, when Queen Anne began to reign. This, as has been said above, was the close of "the infancy" of our connection with the country. The "childhood" commenced with the union of the companies of merchants trading to the East Indies by deed of settlement, dated the 22nd of July, 1702, and these were their possessions: Bombay, Mazagon, Mahim, Sion, and Walee—forts in the vicinity of Bombay (and now forming part of the island); St. Helena; factories at Surat, Swallee, Broach and Ahmedabad (all in the province of Guzerat); at Agra, an Lucknow, in the north-west provinces of Agra and Oude; at

Carwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Calicut, on the Malabar coast; and likewise at Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan in Persia; the forts and towns of Chirga, Nissa, Madras, Fort St. David, and its territory of three miles, comprehending towns and villages; the factories of Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipottee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, Vizagapatam, on the Coromandel Coast; and Calcutta, Balasore, and a few other places, such as Patna, Dacea, Rajmahal, and Hooghly, in Bengal. A fair footing for a handful of traders, who, a century and a half previously, were as unknown to India as India was strange to them!

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## CHAPTER IV.

The costume of the English in India in the last century—The lives of the factors—Surat abandoned for Bombay—Surat described—The Parsees of Western India—The union of the rival companies—Mayor's courts established—The cutcherry—The Mahratta territory—British gallantry and British local influence—Conduct of English functionaries.

It is recorded of the English at Surat and Bombay, that at the commencement of the last century, they usually adopted an Oriental costume. A European dress was a singularity. There was good sense in this. The flowing muslin robes of the better order of natives constituted a much more commodious, as well as a more elegant, attire than the coats and breeches of the Englishmen. In their dress, as in their habits, the natives have a reasonable regard to the quality of the climate under which they live. There is no question that the turban, if the head be shaved, is a more pleasant description of gear than the felt or beaver hat, and no one will dispute its superiority of appearance, and effectiveness in warding off the rays of the sun. But the fear of descending to a level with the natives (in appearance, at least) seems soon to have had a powerful influence upon the minds of the officers of the English

Company, for we read of their adopting the hideous costume of the reign of Anne and the Georges, not forgetting the queer three-cornered hat, which apparently so much tickled the fancy of the natives that they dubbed the English the *tyrannists*, or "hat-fellows," a *slang* which is to this hour employed as the special designation of the Franks among the lower classes of the people. The Europeans in India now wear hats of felt or of the white pulp of the water reed, called *shapar*, or "sun-hats," which are light, and covered with white calico, rather resembling turbans.

The lives led by the factors of the East India Company at Surat and Bombay appear to have been very remarkable for licentiousness. They had naturally caught something of the native manners and morals, while mingling in their society, and inhaling the same feverish atmosphere. The home rulers, notwithstanding the licence which prevailed in England, were very much shocked at the reports which reached them, and which, indeed, were borne out by the coarse and profane language in which the despatches were occasionally couched. A clergyman who visited the coast at the close of the seventeenth century, writing of Bombay, says, "I cannot, without horror, mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities are grown in this place. Luxury, immodesty, and a prostitute dissoluteness of manners, find still new matter to work upon. Wickedness was constantly upon the improvement, and grew to such a perfection, that no vice was so detestable as not to be extremely common."

The Company did all in their power to suppress this highly reprehensible course of conduct on the part of their servants, and pointed out that it tended to the dishonour of God, the discredit of the Gospel, and the contempt of the Christian religion. They justly argued that it would be impossible to ensure for the Protestant religion of England the respect of the natives, unless they saw its effects in a sober and righteous conversation. It is not recorded that the remonstrances were much heeded, for dissoluteness of manners continued to characterise the English settlers for many a long year afterwards.

Surat was, as we have said, abandoned as the seat of the president and the twenty-four councillors, who managed the trade with the interior ; and Bombay became the headquarters of the Company's agents. Surat, however, at the time, was a much more important place than it now is, though it still retains some vestiges of its old consequence. It did not boast of much architectural beauty, but there was a good business air about the place. There was a palace of the Nawaub, many streets, some mosques, a castle, and numerous gardens, to which handsome buildings were attached. The population exceeded half a million ; there was a strict police surveillance, "but the functionaries were, like other orientals, accessible to bribes ;" and there was a Custom House—an excuse for the most villainous extortions from the English traders. The manners of the people partook of the cat-like mildness of the Hindoo, and the tiger-like ferocity of the Mussulman ; festivals gave occasion for the display of personal animosities, and the occasional visitation of pirates afforded opportunity for the bellicose propensities of all parties, which were followed by the oppressions of the Nawaub's government. But, with the inconsistency which seems so striking a feature in the Indian character, the frequent exercise of cruelty to men was associated with the most delicate tenderness towards the animal creation. There was kept up at Surat, with great care, and at considerable expense, a Banian hospital for disabled animals ! All kinds of superannuated beasts, birds, and reptiles, even to the vermin which infest men's beds and persons, were scrupulously cared for. Beggars, seeking alms in the city, obtained them on the simple condition that they should repose for a night within the compartment of the hospital assigned to bugs, fleas, &c., and give the vermin a chance of an abundant meal. The flesh tingles at the bare recital of such a method of alimenting the most loathsome creatures.

Among the population of Surat were ten thousand Parsees, a very interesting race of people. Driven from Persia by the fanaticism of the Mahomedans, they took refuge in Western India, and soon became conspicuous for

their industry and intelligence. Linked together by the ties of religion and a common suffering in its cause, and believing that their strength lay in unity, they have preserved their exclusiveness for centuries. Neither yielding up their own persuasion, nor seeking to make converts of others, they have been respected in the observance of their faith ; the rather that the Sun, the great object of their adoration, is an intelligible deity, to which all nations more or less offer homage. Zoroaster was their teacher, and the Zendavesta their Bible. Fire receives the most profound respect from the " Parsees," a corruption of " Persians." They have their *angiarees*, or fire-temples, in the heart of which, generally in a spacious silver vase, the sacred flame is constantly kept alive ; instead of vestal virgins, white-bearded priests perform the office of guardians of the fire, and every morning the fervour of the Parsee community supplies the requisite fuel. The altar stands within a grated enclosure, and through its bars the pious Guebre thrusts his piece of wood, muttering a prayer for the prosperity and salvation of himself and family. The richer classes contribute logs of sandal wood, which, igniting, distribute a pleasant fragrance throughout the temple. The marriage ceremonies of the Parsees are celebrated with great pomp, and in the nocturnal cavalcades the little bridegroom, a child of six or seven years of age, figures on a heavy white steed. The funeral obsequies of this singular people equally distinguish them. The cemeteries are lofty, circular enclosures. In the centre is a deep well, towards which numerous shallow channels slope from the wall. In one of these channels the corpse is placed, and left by the mourners. Instantaneously, the vultures which swarm upon the summit of the walls and the neighbouring trees, intent upon the approach of prey, swoop down ; and, in a few moments, not a vestige of the flesh of the deceased is to be seen. The oily particles of the body, assisted by the heavy rains, float the bones into the well, whence they are carried into the sea or the sewers, or mingle with mother earth. The chief merit of the Parsees lies in their industry and their liberality.

Since their establishment in India they have become skilful workers in wood. From the small cabinet to the magnificent man-of-war, nothing comes amiss to them. Their fame as shipbuilders is world-wide. The upper classes are chiefly merchants trading with China, Persia, England, and the coast of India. They are the principal exporters of the cotton and the opium grown in India, and their corresponding houses in China are, next to the English, the chief dealers in tea. It is hardly necessary to cite the name of the late Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, as the finest example on record of a course of Parsee integrity and enterprise. From small beginnings, as a merchant, he realised an enormous fortune; and he has shown, in his appropriation of it, a large philanthropy, a profundity of wisdom, and a deep attachment to the British government of India. Hospitals, colleges, roads, institutes of all kinds, attest the value and sound direction of Sir Jamsetjee's beneficence. It was very proper that such a man should receive so signal a mark of royal approbation as the conferment of a baronetcy. He was the first native of India thus distinguished.

The accession of the "Good Queen Anne" was characterised by more than one "union." The rival companies of India, who, by their discords, had disturbed the profitable course of trade, were now incorporated under the title of the "United Company of Merchants Trading to the East India" ("Indies" was a term which did not come into fashion for some time later), and affairs were, as we have said, administered at Bombay. It was in 1709 that the union was completed, and from that day forward things went on prosperously with the English. Courts of Law, presided over by Mayors, were established before 1725, at Bombay, and likewise at Madras. According to Mr. Kaye, the author of a very fair and honest history of Indian progress, called *The Administration of the East India Company*, the records of these courts contain curious illustrations of the morals and manners of the early settlers, and the natives who clustered round them at the presidencies. "The people in whose causes they adjudicated were, for the most

part, the public or private servants of the settlers themselves, or people connected with the shipping in the ports. The Court carried on all kinds of business. It was at once a civil, a criminal, a military, and a prerogative court. It proceeded with remarkable promptitude and despatch, from the proving of a will to the trial of a murderer ; from the settlement of a dispute regarding the sale of a slave girl to the punishment of a drunken trooper, or an extortionate witch. Flogging was the usual remedy prescribed. It was one of general application, and fell with the greatest impartiality on all offenders, old and young, male and female, alike." A Mayor's Court was established at Calcutta somewhat later ; but in that part of India the English had become landholders, or Zemindars.\* In Calcutta, then, besides the Mayor's Court, there was a court erected, by the consent of the native government (*i.e.* the Soubadhar, or ruler of Bengal), and called a CUT-CHERRY, or criminal, civil, and revenue court, for the management of the people located on our estates. "The Company's servants," says Mr. Kaye, "were rising into administrative importance, as heaven-born judges and territorial financiers. They constituted themselves tribunals for the trial of their own causes ; they had power without responsibility, and dealt in judgment without law. They had liberty to fine, to imprison, to sentence to labour on the roads ; but they could not hang the subjects of the Mogul. The lash, however, took the place of the gibbet, and malefactors were whipped into another world by the manual skill of the native flagellants."

As we are now approaching the period when the English, from simple tolerated traders and Zemindars, were to become conquerors and political governors in India, we may pass over the interval of their mere commercial existence, between 1725 and 1745, to offer some account of the general state of the country at the latter date. Indeed, it

\* Zemindar is a Persian word, but it has no reference to ownership of land, though employed in India to this very day to designate the renter of territory. *Zemin*, land ; *dar*, holder. The term under the Mahomedan government was used to designate the district chiefs.

will not be possible for the reader perfectly to understand the marvellous history which will form the subject of future chapters unless he is assisted to a thorough comprehension of the general state of India in the middle of the last century.

Allusion has been made to the rise of the Mahrattas. Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, for a long time made head against them, recapturing many of the places of which they had taken possession and declared the independence. As age crept upon him, however; he was obliged to leave military operations in the hands of his generals; and these men, corrupt to the core, and incapable of contending with so active an enemy as the Mahrattas, connived, for a consideration, at their depredations. The consequence was, that, when Aurungzebe died in 1707, leaving but feeble successors, the Mahrattas gradually established a claim to a part of the revenues of Aurungabad, Berar, Beder, Bejapore, Candeish, and Hyderabad, and were acknowledged sovereigns of the better part of the Deccan, Poonah, Sattarah, Kolapore, &c. The *Peishwah*, a title signifying Prime Minister, and first given by Sivajee, the founder of the empire, to the chief of his eight ministers, ruled Poonah and its vicinity. Bajee Rao, who held the office of Peishwah in 1724, recommended Scindia and Holkar, the founders of families who afterwards became famous, and whose descendants figured rather advantageously in the history of the great rebellion of 1857—Bajee Rao, we say, instigated these men to extend the Mahratta conquests into Hindostan. They attempted to do so. The Nizam-ool-Mook, who ruled at Hyderabad, in the name of the Mogul Emperor, perceiving the danger to which his master's territory was exposed, intrigued to set the several Mahratta chiefs by the ears; and the upshot was, that, although the Mahrattas did, by their operations, become masters of a large proportion of the centre and the west of India, the rajahs, or rulers of Sattarah and Kolapore were never afterwards cordial friends. It would, probably, confuse the reader were a more minute description to be offered of the actual position of the Mahrattas, at the time of which

we treat. Let it suffice that the Peishwah, the Rajah of Sattarah (to whom the Peishwah paid a nominal homage), Scindia, and Holkar, ruled over 100,000 square miles, containing between six and seven millions of inhabitants, chiefly in the West of India, as far north as Baroach, as far south as Goa, as far east as Beder : the whole space, in fact, between the Taptee and the Kistna, not including the British and Portuguese Coast territory between Goa and Surat.

In Bengal, and on the Eastern or Coromandel coast, the power of the Mogul remained supreme, in spite of the invasion of the Mahrattas. His Nawaubs, indeed, were greater tyrants and extortioners than himself. Distance screened them from imperial scrutiny. The English continued very much at their mercy ; but, albeit the factories enjoyed but slender protection from the troops then kept up, the national courage of the merchants obtained from them much respect. There is an anecdote extant of Mr. Horden defending his factory, at Madras, against the Nawaub, and a hundred horse. His highness had got into the factory, when young Horden, fusil and bayonet in hand, rushed at him, and placing the bayonet at his breast, threatened him with instant death, if his attendants offered the slightest outrage. Rather astonished at this display of intrepidity, the Nawaub gathered himself up and departed, "full of wonder and admiration," says the quaint chronicler of the time, "at so daring a courage."

It is of the "Horden" stuff that the English are made. The history of our connection with India presents us with hundreds of instances of similar hardihood on the part of the men who have been entrusted with their country's interests, and we shall reproduce these episodes as we go along. But can it be wondered at that this country is so fertile of gallant fellows? The air they breathe from their very birth—the wholesome nourishment they imbibe from their mothers—the simple way in which they are nurtured after leaving the breast—the healthful exercise they enjoy from their infancy—all contribute to give the constitution of Englishmen a fair start. The earnest cultivation of the

domestic affections attaches them to home and parents and country ; removed to school in their eighth year, they are soon inspired with emulation ; intuitively alive to insults, they resent a blow from one above "their own size ;" athletic pastimes string their nerves, give strength and elasticity to their muscles, and expand their chests ; and while education enlarges their understandings, and existing free institutions give them security and independence, the history and traditions of the past fill them with patriotic pride. They go forth into the world ambitious of success ; they put forward all their powers, and, even if they do not triumph over every difficulty which besets the paths of public men, their self-respect is raised by the honest struggle, and they earn what, perhaps, they value almost as much, the approbation of their relatives, and the admiration of their countrymen. With all their faults, it is not too much to say, that the English are more respected by strangers than any other nation on the face of the earth.

As a proof of the estimation in which the English began to be held, so far back as 1712, it may be mentioned that the Moslem Governor of Hooghly, being in trouble, sought their protection, which they did not give him. The King of Delhi, afflicted with disease, asked the aid of Dr. Hamilton, as one of his predecessors had done that of Boughton, and granted favours and privileges to the Company, in recognition of the relief he had obtained. Two bodies of natives, of different castes, fiercely disputed upon the very knotty point as to whether the right hands are superior to the left hands, and referred the question to the Madras Governor, then stationed at Fort St. David ; and the influence of the Governor managed to restore order. On the other hand, the conduct of the highest of the English functionaries was, frequently, very blameable. Most persons have heard of the Pitt diamond. How did Governor Pitt, from whom it took its title, manage to get possession of the jewel ? History has wronged the memory of the Governor, if it were a fair acquisition. The diamond was bought for 20,400*l.*, polished in London, and sold to

the Regent of France for 135,000*l.* Francis Hastings another Governor of Madras, made away with no fewer than twenty-nine treasure chests of enormous value. After seizing his diamonds and ships the Company still had a claim upon him for 20,000*l.*, for which he gave security, and died. Peculation was rife in all offices ; the Europeans plundered no less than the natives—the Mayors' Courts were continually exposed to appeals against their decisions, and their jurisdiction was constantly denied, when they resorted to the extreme penalties of the law. The threatened attacks on Madras by the Mahrattas gave frequent occasion for alarm, and the Nawaubs augmented their exactions in proportion as the Company's trade increased and prospered. In Caleutta, the apprehension entertained of the incursions of the Mahrattas was so great that an immense ditch was dug around the town to resist them. The remains of the ditch are visible to this hour, and hence the appellation “the Ditchers,” which, in after years, the residents of the up country applied to the inhabitants of Calcutta.

But a greater enemy than the Mahrattas—a more daring plunderer than native brokers and Company's servants—was now to appear upon the scene, and, for a time, disturb the prosperity of the English. War broke out in Europe (1743), and the FRENCH assumed a bold and dangerous attitude upon the coasts of Coromandel. Their exploits, and the manner in which they were resisted, brings us to the beginning of the manhood of the East India Company.

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## CHAPTER V.

The French settlements—War with France—Labourdonnais at Madras—Peace—The King of Tanjore seeks aid against the Mahrattas—Lawrence—Clive—Devi Cottah taken—Dupleix—The succession to the Nizamut—Disputes in the Carnatic—Clive attacks Arcot—His subsequent defence of the place—The Sepoy—His character and prejudices—Trichinopoly relieved by Clive—The French and English at war in India—The home authorities interfere—The English everywhere successful—Dupleix quits India—Clive, after a brief visit to England, becomes a Lieutenant-Colonel—State of Calcutta—The Nawab Suraj-u-Dowlah—Calcutta besieged.

MENTION has been made of the progress of Portuguese and Dutch settlement in India, but nothing has been said of the French.

The endeavours of the French to establish factories on the Coromandel coast were at first attended with much the same difficulties and annoyances as the other European nations had experienced; these, however, were gradually overcome, and by the close of the first quarter of the last century, we find the French colony of Pondicherry in a very flourishing condition. The colonists traded on amicable terms with their neighbours, and their vivacity recommended them to the natives, who saw, in the Roman Catholic religion, which the French professed, some practices akin to their own.

It is customary with European nations going to war, to extend their operations to the distant possessions of each other—capturing, burning, and destroying the property of persons who are, politically speaking, no parties to the contest. Thus, when hostilities broke out in 1743, in reference to the Austrian succession, and the Continent of Europe was disturbed, the French and English on the Indian coasts virtually became enemies. The French East India Company, anxious to avert the calamities of war, in a region where the political merits of the question at issue could not

be affected by the success of either party, proposed that, in the contest which had arisen, the Indian seas should be considered neutral. Pugnacious John Bull refused the terms on which the proposed neutrality was based, and that the worst might be prepared for, Lord Carteret, the minister, despatched three ships of the line and a frigate to the coast of Coromandel. On their side, the French were not inactive. Admiral Labourdonnais was sent out to protect the interest of the settlers. At first, fortune inclined to the English; they captured French vessels richly laden, and bore themselves insolently. But the appearance of Labourdonnais alarmed Peyton, who commanded the fleet destined for the defence of the English at Madras, and he fled with his ships to the Bay of Bengal. The French, with their wonted alacrity and engineering skill—which had been brought to a high pitch by Vauban, who flourished at the beginning of the century—had admirably fortified Pondicherry against external attacks. The English, on the other hand, trusted to their wooden walls, leaving Madras in a feeble condition. Labourdonnais assailed Madras, and at the end of a week it was in his possession. Admiral Boscawen, in like manner attacked Pondicherry, and disgracefully failed. In 1748, peace was proclaimed in Europe, and, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the English recovered Madras. But blood had been drawn, a passion for war had been implanted in the bosoms of the rival traders in India, and they began to seek new occasions for its indulgence. The opportunity was not long in presenting itself. In the south of India is the little province of Tanjore, about seventy miles in length, and the same in breadth, enclosed and intersected by the mouths of the river Cauvery. At the period of our history it was a petty kingdom, which the Mahrattas had wrested from the original possessors. The king had been dethroned by his minister, and the English recognised the usurper. Nevertheless, in 1749, the deposed monarch, one Suhajee, came to the English at Fort St. David, and asked their aid in recovering his dominions, promising to cede to them the fortress of Devi Cottah, if he succeeded through their in-

strumentality. The English military force had been considerably increased during the war. British soldiers properly disciplined, co-operated with Sepoys (native soldiers), and the combination promised to be effective. This was the nucleus of that wonderful army which afterwards achieved such stupendous successes. Seeing a prospect of converting Devi Cottah into a protection for a new harbour on the Coleroon, the English yielded to the application of the deposed sovereign of Tanjore, and sent Captain Cope, with 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, to take possession of the place in favour of Suhajee. Cope was an indifferent soldier: he fell into an ambuscade, and was compelled to retire with loss. A new expedition was accordingly despatched from Fort St. David, under the command of Major Lawrence, a man of considerable ability. Under Lawrence's command was a subaltern named CLIVE. He had been sent out by the East India Company as a clerk or writer, as the junior civilians were called; but, when the war broke out in 1743, he exchanged the pen for the sword, and distinguished himself at the siege of Pondicherry. This exchanging the pen for the sword, at least temporarily, was the daily necessity of the time. Every Englishman in the service was, by turns, a soldier and a clerk. In an old farce, never acted now, one of the characters describes this hybrid race—"This hour striding over heaps of slain, and the next knocking down pepper and betel-nut to the best bidder;"—and of these mixed elements were composed the gallant founders of our Eastern empire.

Lawrence had seen reason to admire Clive. The energy of the young man was extraordinary, and his courage of the most brilliant order. Impetuous in disposition, he had, at the commencement of his career, denounced a fellow gambler as a cheat. A challenge was the result. On the ground the cheat, who was also a bully, advanced to Clive, in defiance of the laws of the *duel*, and placing his pistol at Clive's head, called upon him to retract the offensive epithet, or his brains should be blown out. "Fire away!" said Clive; "you are a cheat!" The gambler was abashed

—his pistol dropped. A governor of Madras had been offended by some hastiness of expression on Clive's part. He was desired to apologise, which he did, and the governor asked him to dinner. "No," exclaimed Clive, "you can make me apologise, but I am not obliged to eat at your table." With all this impetuosity, however, there was combined much judgment and sagacity. Lawrence had seen these various qualities displayed in the operations against the French, and felt assured of the value of the young lieutenant. Clive behaved with great gallantry at the storming of Devi Cottah : the place fell to the English arms. It was their first conquest in India, but it was not worth the retaining, and they therefore left it in the hands of the sovereign *de facto*, keeping the king *de jure*, a prisoner, that he might not give them further trouble on the same account.

The French passion for war took a wider scope, and, for a time, they were more successful than ourselves. When Labourdonnais went to the relief of Pondicherry, and the other factories of the French on the coast of Coromandel, the former city was governed by one Dupleix, a man of great enterprise and determination of character. On the capture of Madras, Dupleix assumed the government, and was very loth to relinquish possession on the terms agreed upon by Labourdonnais. Dupleix had, in fact, "already begun to revolve gigantic schemes." The idea of establishing a French empire in India had entered his brain. Why should not the French take the place of the Mahomedans, as the Mahomedans had displaced the Hindoos? The power of the Mogul had been rudely shaken, the south of India was split into different little kingdoms and chieftainships, some of which only acknowledged a nominal subjection to the Emperor of Delhi, while others repudiated his authority altogether. Could they not be rendered antagonistic, and France—as an ally of one or the other of the contending parties—come in, like a political lawyer, and pounce upon the meat of the oyster? The idea was a notable one, and a circumstance occurred which appeared to present the means of carrying it out. The Nizam

the Deccan—nominally a viceroy from the Delhi court, but in reality an independent sovereign—suddenly died, and a question arose as to the successor to the *musnud*, or throne. Nazir Jung, the son of the deceased, naturally claimed the *nizamut*. He was opposed by a grandson of the Nizam. A large province called the Carnatic, stretching along the Coromandel coast, from the river Gundigania to the north of the Cauvery, formed part of the Nizam's territories, and was governed by a Mahomedan nawaub named Anwiroodeen, or more commonly Anaverdi Khan. One Chunda Sahib, the son-in-law of a former nawaub, disputed the title of Anaverdi, and seeing a prospect of ousting him by taking part in the war of succession now likely to arise, offered his aid to Mirzaffer Jung, the grandson aforesaid, to whom it was alleged the Nizam had bequeathed his power and authority. The offer was accepted, and the allies at once invaded the Carnatic. To strengthen their hands, they sought the aid of the French. Dupleix was delighted at the chance thus offered him. He threw himself into the cause, took 400 French soldiers and 2000 sepoys into the field, and soon became indispensable to Mirzaffer Jung and Chunda Sahib. Victory crowned the efforts of the French; and Dupleix, seeing that he had established irresistible claims to the gratitude of the two chieftains, did not hesitate to make his own terms, to which they were only too ready to conform. He assumed an authority almost equal to that of Mirzaffer Jung himself. "He was declared governor of India, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, a country about as large as France. He ruled 30,000,000 of people with almost absolute power." His name was mentioned with reverence in the palace of the Great Mogul. He gathered money and jewels to a vast extent. He erected a lofty pillar to perpetuate his victories and proclaim his glory, and he struck medals with the same commemorative objects. He was in a fair way of realising all his extravagant dreams.

In the vast province of the Carnatic was the little tributary state (now the district and town) of Trichinopoly, governed by Mahomed Ali, the second son of Anaverdi

Khan. When the latter was killed in one of the engagements with the French, Mahomed Ali fled to Trichinopoly, alone. In spite of the ascendancy of Chunda Sahib throughout the Carnatic, he still ruled as Nawaub, and the English recognised him in that capacity. To lay siege to Trichinopoly, and drive out Mahomed Ali, became the object of Chunda and the French. Their authority in the Carnatic was not complete while the Nawaub continued to hold even the town of Trichinopoly. That place once in the hands of Dupleix, the French power would become supreme throughout the Peninsula of India.

Clive saw the danger of our position. His genius at once suggested a counteraction. The English were too weak to relieve Trichinopoly—why not create a diversion by attacking the enemy in another quarter? Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, was poorly defended—an assault might be successful, and, if successful, a very important blow would have been struck. Clive communicated his idea to the Madras government. It was approved, and its adoption authorised. Away went Clive, with two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys, armed and disciplined after the English fashion. The rain fell in torrents—the thunder rolled, and flashes of lightning illumined the path of the little band. It reached Arcot: the garrison was unprepared; by a gallant *coup de main* Clive carried the fort and expelled the garrison. But the garrison returned, and it was only by frequent sallies that Clive was able to hold the ground. Chunda Sahib, hearing of the fall of his capital, at once despatched his son, with 4000 men, from Trichinopoly, and 150 French soldiers from Pondicherry, who were afterwards joined by 3000 natives from Vellore, to lay siege to Clive. This force entered the town of Arcot without difficulty. Clive concentrated his little body of brave men within the citadel, whence he made some desperate sorties; but the enemy occupied the houses with their infantry, and poured so deadly a fire upon the English, that their leader was obliged to retire, and content himself with a cannonade from the walls of the fort. The story of the glorious

resistance will always occupy a high place in our annals. Clive's artillery was insignificant. He had but two 18-pounders and some light guns wherewith to defend his position. The former were soon disabled, and the latter were nearly useless. The enemy rapidly constructed their parallels, and, in a few days, were enabled to command the ditch and parapet of the fortress. At the end of a fortnight, two practicable breaches had been established, and Clive's force was reduced to eighty Europeans and one hundred and twenty sepoys fit for duty! But neither commander nor men harboured a thought of capitulation. Full of confidence in their undaunted leader, all hands laboured to construct interior entrenchments, which commanded the breaches crosswise. The 14th of November, 1751, was a solemn fast-day with the Mahomedans of the Sheeah sect, and there is a superstitious belief among the Mussulmans that such occasions are propitious to great enterprises. Accordingly, the assault was ordered for that day, and made in great force. Clive manned the flanking works and directed the fire. As the enemy advanced, led by the French, the handful of British and the sepoys poured upon them their murderous volleys of musketry. They recoiled; but again and again did Rajah Sahib, the son of Chunda, renew the attack, and always with the same result. For hours were the assaults continued, until, at length, exhausted by their efforts, dismayed by their failure, and believing in the impregnability of the fortress, the besiegers abandoned their task, leaving upwards of four hundred men dead upon the ramparts. That night, after carrying on the siege for fifty days, the enemy evacuated the town; but on the following day, reinforcements having reached Clive, he sallied forth, pursued the fugitives, and defeated them with great loss, recovering thereby a small English fort at Conjeveram, of which the French had taken possession.

The fidelity of the sepoys to the English cause, at so early a period of our establishment, may seem to require a little explanation. The uninitiated reader may marvel at so (apparently) anomalous a state of things, seeing that the

sepoys were the natives of the very country in which we were now beginning to obtain political weight and military ascendancy. They were, to all appearance, warring against their brethren. But the truth is, the sepoy has no nationality, as we understand the feeling. He owns no country beyond his native village. He is always ready to give his services to any one who will pay him liberally and punctually; treat him with kindness and consideration, excite his pride and stimulate his valour, and, above all, respect the usages of his caste. The English of Clive's time—and the English of many years subsequently—understood all this, and were secure of "Jack Sepoy's" fidelity. In respect to his caste, they believed it to be an institution arising out of his religion, and were deferential to all its ceremonies. But in this they made a mistake: caste and creed are distinct things; the former is a social affair altogether, totally irrespective of theological tenets. A writer in a popular periodical says, very justly, "it is everywhere safer to attack an article of the faith than a popular usage; and the Hindoo—so unalterably wedded to custom—is of all men the most tolerant in respect to creed. His creed is matter of speculation, which we are welcome to question: his caste is a tangible advantage, of which he would not be robbed with impunity."

There were great rejoicings at Fort St. George, Madras, over Clive's success; and it was resolved to attempt the relief of Trichinopoly in great force. Moreover, some hundreds of sepoys, in the service of the enemy, deserted to the colours of the English. At this juncture (we have got to 1752), Major Lawrence, who had proceeded to England for the benefit of his health, returned, and resumed his command—Clive, with becoming alacrity, acting under his orders. Dupleix, anxious for the capture of Trichinopoly, despatched large reinforcements to M. Law, who commanded the investing force. Clive intercepted them, forced their commander to retreat, and made him prisoner in the fortress to which he retired. The investing army, in its turn invested, and placed between two fires, soon began to fall to pieces. The troops of Chund-

Sahib deserted by entire battalions, and Chunda at last gave himself up to the Rajah of Tanjore, who caused him soon afterwards to be assassinated. The French capitulated, and Mahomed Ali, the *protégé* of the English, was acknowledged Nawaub of the Carnatic.

It would much exceed the space to which the writer of this familiar historical sketch proposes to limit himself, were the operations in the south of India—where the French and English contended for mastery, each in the interest of some native sovereign or chieftain—to be given in detail. Let it suffice, that in the various actions and movements which ensued, fortune favoured the English whenever they were led and directed by the intrepid Clive. It was Clive who razed to the ground the pillar with which Dupleix had proposed to immortalise his own exploits—it was Clive who took Covelong and then Chingleput from a superior force. True, the government of France had begun to discountenance Dupleix, refusing him help, and only sending him, for troops, the sweepings of the galleys; but, on the other hand, the English recruits despatched to Clive were the “worst and lowest wretches that the Company’s crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London.” At length the rival companies in Europe, weary of the expenses incurred by the contests in India, and disapproving the continuance of war in that quarter, when peace had been proclaimed at home, entered into a treaty which resulted in the recall of the enterprising Dupleix by the French government, and the establishment of the English in possession of all the advantages they had gained by the revolutions in the Deccan. “Dupleix returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave.”

Still, the French military power in India had not been quite extinguished. They held Pondicherry and other places, and M. Bussy, who had been sent out by Dupleix, to aid Salabat Jung in obtaining his elevation to the Nizamut of the Deccan, was governor of several provinces in the northern Circars, on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, and in high favour with the Nizam. But the

*prestige* attaching to the French name was gone. The natives no longer believed them to form the first power in Europe. The English had, in this essential respect, entirely superseded their old foes.

Clive's health having suffered from his exertions and exposure, he returned to England, where he lived for two or three years in affluence :—impartial biographers use the word “dissipation.” He was well received in all circles, for the news of his wonderful achievements spread far and wide ; and, but for the superior tactics of the opponents of the political party to which he attached himself, he might have taken his seat as a member of parliament for St. Michael's, Cornwall. But he was soon wanted in India. In 1755, he was appointed Governor of Fort St. David, and the King made him a lieutenant-colonel in the British army.

We must now turn to Bengal. The events above described had all occurred within the limits of the Madras Presidency.

On the banks of the Hooghly, the town of Calcutta, founded by Job Charnock, had increased materially in dimensions. “The Company had thriven like a lusty youth, who pursues his careless way rejoicing.” The President of the Council lived in a large house, on well-shaded grounds, close to the river. The council, consisting of about a dozen gentlemen, all on salaries lower than 350*l.* a year, but with a dangerous authority to trade on their own account, lived in smaller houses, “without flues, without venetians, without glass windows, and, of course, without punkas. For venetians, they had panelled doors, which admitted neither light nor air, and for sash-windows, frames with a net-work of cane.” There was a church and various warehouses in Calcutta. There were natives in the employ of the council as brokers, and Europeans as clerks. There was a mayor, his court, and subordinates. These, with three or four military officers, commanding a small body of troops, who occupied a fort, called Fort William, because it was erected in the reign of William III., constituted the European population. A part of the military

force consisted of artillery—the first company that had ever been sent to Bengal. The *personnel* of all ranks amounted to forty-five, and the efficiency of the artillery in the most critical year of our existence in India (1755), excepting the year 1857-8, may be imagined from the following facts:—“The defences of the fort were in bad condition, the ammunition and stores insufficient and of inferior quality. Ordnance that had been sent out from England was lying useless and dismounted outside the fort; other guns were mounted where they could not be fired; and, above all, the powder was damaged. The company was commanded by Captain Lontel Witherington, who appears, from what took place subsequently, to have been a man who had no self-reliance. He might have done well under an able commander, but, left to himself, he was helpless.”

Matters had gone on so quietly between the English and the Nawaub of Bengal, Aliverdi Khan, that there did not appear to be any occasion for precautions. A general feeling of security and a spirit of false economy prevailed, to the detriment of military efficiency. In the following year (1756) the full evil of this neglect was made painfully manifest. The friendly Nawaub died, and the sovereignty of Bengal descended to his son, Suraj-u-Dowlah, whose character Lord Macaulay has thus graphically sketched:—“Oriental despots are, perhaps, the worst class of human beings, and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect, and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him, and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the goodwill of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brains almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery

and servility. It is said that he had arrived at the last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake—when the sight of pain as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds, and when he grew up he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow-creatures. From a child Suraj-u-Dowlah hated the English!"

It is only necessary to add, in illustration of the character of this youth, that, according to a native writer of the time, a relative of his grandfather's, he made no distinction between vice and virtue; and, paying no regard to the nearest relations, he carried defilement wherever he went: like a man alienated in his mind, he made the houses of men and women of distinction the scenes of his profligacy, without minding either rank or station. In a little time he had become as detested as Pharaoh, and people, on meeting him by chance, used to say, "*God save us from him!*"

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## CHAPTER VI.

The horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta—Clive and Watson despatched to Calcutta—They besiege and recover the town—They advance to Hooghly, which they storm and give up to plunder—Clive attacks the Nawaub's camp and defeats him—Great advantages obtained by treaty—The Nawaub violates the treaty and seeks French aid—Clive attacks and takes Chandernagore, a French settlement—Intrigues to dethrone the Nawaub—The battle of Plassey.

SCARCELY had Aliverdi Khan been gathered to his fathers, than Suraj-u-Dowlah set forth with an immense force, and, without a word of warning, advanced to Calcutta, to gratify his bitter hostility to the English. The Europeans, alarmed, took refuge in the fort, and were followed by no less than 6000 inhabitants of the town, together with

several hundred Portuguese women. Including officers, the whole number of troops in the garrison did not exceed 190, only sixty being Europeans, not five of whom had ever seen a shot fired in earnest. The militia was at once embodied ; the senior members of the government assumed the rank of field-officers ; and even the chaplain, Mr. Mapleton, rendered himself useful as a captain-lieutenant. But these preparations were made too late ; the provisions in the fort were merely sufficient for the garrison, and that but for a short period. The first gun from the Nawaub's artillery spread universal consternation. On the morning of the 18th June, 1756, the Nawaub invested the town, and, before night, all the outposts were in his hands. Councils of war were held by the governor and his associates, whereat it was resolved to send the ladies on board ships lying in the river ; and, with a view to their own personal safety, Mr. Drake, the President, Messrs. Hackett, Frankland, and Manningham, Commandant Minchin, and Captain Grant, likewise contrived to embark, leaving their companions to the mercy of an infuriated enemy.

The flight of the dastardly president, and his four or five pusillanimous friends, was the signal for a general exodus. The people—natives and Portuguese—got on board the boats, and went hastily down the stream, leaving the little garrison, and those who could not escape, to bear the brunt of the siege as best they might. All night long, and all the following day and night, did the Nawaub's artillery keep up a galling fire. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 20th June, the garrison was exhausted. Of 170 men, 25 had been killed and 70 wounded. Holwell, a civilian, who had been elected the chief of the council, by the gentlemen in the fort, now determined to capitulate, and therefore sent a person to Omichund, a rich Hindoo banker, to ask him to use his good offices with the Nawaub for a pacification : other accounts state that Holwell threw a letter over the ramparts, expressing the readiness of the English to submit to the commands of the Nawaub, adding, that they only persisted in defending the fort to

preserve their lives and honour. The upshot was that a parley ensued, during which a body of the enemy, taking advantage of the confusion of the moment, burst open the gate. "Before 6 p.m.," writes Captain David Lester Richardson, "the ignorant and arrogant Suraj-u-Dowlah was seated in state in the largest apartment of the British Factory, listening with infinite satisfaction to the hyperbolical congratulations of a circle of sycophants." After a time, Mr. Holwell was brought before the Nawab, who was very anxious to know from him what money was in the possession of the besieged, and whereabouts it was concealed. Holwell had little to tell the rapacious villain on this head, for nearly all the treasure had been sent away. Three times was he sent for, and catechised, and on each occasion assured that no harm was intended him, or his friends; but, at 7 p.m., the hollowness of these assurances became painfully manifest. Holwell returned to his fellow-prisoners, and found the guards of the Nawab, after much pretended search, had discovered a place for their confinement for the night. This was a dark prison, usually attached to a guard-room in a fortress, and called "the Black Hole"—a species of donjon-keep. It was eighteen feet in length and fourteen in breadth. Into this, the prisoners, 146 in number, were forced by the guards at the point of the sword.

"It happened," continues Captain Richardson, "to be one of the sultriest nights of a sultry season. It is impossible to exaggerate the discomfort of a muggy night in the rains in Bengal. Even outside the walls of the fort, even on the face of the moving waters of the Hooghly, the air was stagnant. Not a leaf stirred in the neighbouring jungles. Natives, accustomed to the climate, gasped under punkas (fans) in spacious rooms, with every door and window wide open. What, then, must have been the condition of our unfortunate countrymen, some of them weakened by their wounds, and others exhausted by fatigue and anxiety, all standing together, in that low, narrow, airless dungeon, and pressed into one living mass!" There were but two small windows in the room for the admission of

air. In a few moments the inmates began to breathe hard. "The feeling of approaching suffocation must have been an agony beyond expression. They attempted to force the door, but it opened inwards, and was strongly fastened without. They could do nothing with their bare hands. They gave up the attempt in despair and sorrow." Some were driven to distraction, some sought relief in prayer, some moaned and wept like children, others raved and blasphemed like madmen. Holwell, who preserved his presence of mind, endeavoured to reassure them. All in vain—the suffering was too much for human fortitude. "Again came the terrible excitement and furious uproar." Holwell, from the window, saw a native officer, and implored him to find a more enlarged prison, or to go to the Nawaub and represent their state. No other place could be found; the Nawaub slept and could not be disturbed! The agony of the poor prisoners increased. They stripped off their clothes, and waved their hats to circulate the air; they sat or squatted down, and then rose again simultaneously. Every expedient that human ingenuity, stimulated by human suffering, could devise, was resorted to in order to obtain air. At last they began to drop from exhaustion, and some were trodden to death. Putrefaction rapidly ensued: the stench became overpowering. Holwell, who was near the window, turned his face from the piteous crowd; one of the sufferers climbed on to his back to share the smallest breath of wind. "The cries for water! water! were heartrending—all were steeped in perspiration, and tortured with a raging thirst." A small quantity of water was handed in at the window and poured into their hats. In the struggle to obtain it the greater portion was wasted, and that which was drunk only added to the miseries of the recipients. They raved and blasphemed—then they frantically sucked the perspiration from each other's shirts, and "caught the large drops that fell from the head and face like heavy rain." In four hours one-third of the prisoners had died from suffocation. Many of the others became delirious. They called upon the guards mercifully to shoot them, but these savages

"held up their torches to the windows, and laughed with inhuman merriment at their maniacal exclamations and contortions." By two in the morning, after seven hours of confinement, only fifty captives were alive,—many had died and stiffened bolt upright; they were balanced or supported by the pressure around them. Holwell lay down to die, and presently lost all sensation; but it pleased Heaven to spare him. Day dawned, and the survivors were reduced to twenty-three. "One hundred and twenty-three festering corpses were heaped upon the floor and platform of that horrible charnelhouse!" The Nawaub awoke from his heavy slumbers: he was apprised of the events of the night. He asked if Holwell was alive. On being told that he might recover, though nearly dead, the monster gave orders that the door of the dungeon should be opened. Captain Richardson powerfully describes the scene that ensued. "The door opened inwards. It was blocked up with the dead. The weak survivors were nearly half an hour before they could clear the floor sufficiently to allow of the door being opened. Then the poor remnant of the garrison staggered into the open air, so emaciated and woe-begone that they looked as if they had but just risen from their graves—the ghastliest forms that were ever seen alive! Not one swarthy face in the crowd of foreigners that looked on that melancholy group, so changed, so feeble, and so sorrow-stricken, bore the slightest mark of sympathy or kindness. The hundred and twenty-three dead bodies were flung, one upon the other, into a ditch of the fort."

When Holwell, more dead than alive, was taken before Suraj-u-Dowlah, the miscreant uttered no word of sympathy, but resumed his inquiry after the treasure. Obtaining no satisfaction, he gave up Holwell to his officers, who fettered him and two of his companions, and bore them to Moorshedabad, a town higher up the river, and the seat of the government of the Nawaub. They travelled in an open boat, subsisting upon coarse rice and the river water; and when they reached Moorshedabad, covered with boils and ulcers, they were taken through the streets

amidst the jeers of the multitude and lodged in a stable; whence, after a time, they were discharged, to make their own way back to Calcutta. Meanwhile, the other survivors had gone down to Fulta, a small village and port on the Hooghly, nearer the sea, with the exception of a Mrs. Carey, the only lady sufferer, who was consigned to the Zenana of the Nawaub's general-in-chief. Holwell, in later times, raised an obelisk at Calcutta, on the site of the Black Hole, to commemorate the hideous murder of so many Englishmen; and it remained standing until 1818, when the Marquis of Hastings caused it to be levelled to the ground.

So rare and difficult was the communication between Calcutta and Madras, at the time of which we treat, that it was the month of August before the news reached Fort St. George of the inhuman proceedings of the Nawaub. "The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance."

Clive had, since his return to India, been successful in some operations against the stronghold of a pirate chief named Angria, and had found a useful and zealous co-adjutor in Admiral Watson, who then commanded the British fleet in the Indian seas. It was now proposed that Clive and Watson should proceed to Calcutta, to recover the place and take vengeance on the Nawaub. The feelings of both were deeply interested in the enterprise. But jealousy and chicanery interposed obstacles, and two months were suffered to elapse before Clive and the admiral could get away; and, the adverse winds having set in, the year had actually closed ere they reached Calcutta. The force on board the ships amounted to 900 English infantry, and 1500 sepoyes, "to punish a prince who had more subjects than Louis XV. or the Empress Maria Theresa."

On their way up the river, the ships touched at Fulta, where the poor refugees from the Black Hole continued to abide. Mr. Ives, who was on board one of the vessels, describes the effect of the arrival of the succouring fleet upon their minds. Historical events repeat each other—there is hardly a calamity without its parallel. The intelligent reader will not fail to apply what follows

(extracted from Ives's book) to the condition of our poor countrymen and countrywomen who escaped the clutches of the barbarians in Upper India during the great revolt of 1857:—"It may be conceived what welcome visitors we were to our distressed countrymen at Fulta, who, after having lived in the most affluent circumstances, were now sunk down to a condition that scarcely afforded them common necessities. The cup of affliction is always bitter, but has the taste of gall itself when it suddenly succeeds a state of opulence. To sink at once into the lowest poverty from an easy fortune, and from a condition that drew respect from others, to be reduced to one too often attended with derision and contempt, are circumstances that quicken the sense of misery, and make misfortunes more intolerable. This was evidently the case of the present unhappy sufferers: they had maintained some figure in the world; they had kept a generous and hospitable table, where the friend and the stranger had tasted of the elegancies of life; but now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, were themselves obliged to descend to the most servile offices, and to be dependent on the commiseration of others for a precarious subsistence. They were crowded together in the most wretched habitations, clad in the meanest apparel, and for almost five months had been surrounded by sickness and disease, which made strange havoc among them; and yet, when we saw them first, to our great surprise, they appeared with as cheerful countenances as if no misfortunes had happened to them."

After affording succour to the refugees at Fulta, the armament sailed up the river, and, capturing Budge Budge (or Buz Buzia) *en route*, soon anchored off Calcutta. Scarcely contemplating a visit from an English force, the Nawaub revelled in imaginary security. He had neither attempted to remove the property of the factors, nor to improve the fortifications of the town, but had retired to his palace at Moorshedabad, satisfied with the recent glut of human blood. The suffocation in the Black Hole had filled his measure of savage joy to the brim. But the news of the arrival of Clive and Watson in the river

alarmed him, and he set his troops in motion. Before they could get to Calcutta, Clive had recovered the place, after a cannonade from the shipping of only two hours' duration, and had advanced to the town of Hooghly, which he stormed and gave up to plunder. The fort of Calcutta was found to contain large quantities of ordnance, of which possession was taken by the "brave and active Captain (afterward Sir Eyre) Coote." Hooghly was, however, a more serious loss to the Nawaub, because the vast granaries and storehouses of salt were burned and destroyed.

Suraj-u-Dowlah halted within a few miles of the British camp. Clive, who knew the value of time in war—Clive, with whom rapidity of action was a habit, and who had practically learned that the native troops are scared by sudden and bold attacks—advanced immediately to surprise the enemy. A brief action ensued, and the Nawaub, after losing 1000 men, many prisoners, 500 horses, a great number of draught-bullocks, and several elephants, drew off.

Now was the time for diplomatic art to take the place of busy warfare. An advantageous position had been won by the English, and it was their duty to improve it. To enter into negotiations with a prince who had, by his wanton barbarity, degraded himself to the lowest condition of humanity, seemed unworthy; but the measure was justified by the necessity under which Clive found himself, of profiting by the impression his arms had produced. The Nawaub equally desired a pacific arrangement; for, his hatred having been satiated, it was his object again to have traders in his dominions, from whose enterprise, industry, and commercial ambition, considerable advantages were ultimately to be reaped. Admiral Watson and Clive cordially co-operating, a letter was sent to the Nawaub, intimating that the English were able and prepared to give him further proofs of their invincibility, and this, with the aid of Omichund, a banker, opened the door to amicable negotiations, which resulted in a treaty. By this treaty, the English were confirmed in the privileges and possessions granted to them by the Mogul; it was stipulated and

agreed that all merchandise belonging to the Company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty; that all the English factories, seized the preceding year or since, should be restored, with all the money, goods, and effects appertaining thereto; that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid; that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption; that they should have liberty to coin all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province; and that the Nawaub should remain in strict alliance with the English, &c.

This treaty reflected great honour on Clive's statesmanship; for, though he did not appear upon the scene (the whole of the arrangements being left to Mr. Watts, one of the Company's civil servants, and Omichund, a man who had, "in a large measure, the Hindoo talents—quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance, and the Hindoo vices—servility, greediness, and treachery"), there is no doubt that Clive's genius directed the general course of procedure.

Promises written in water best typify the sincerity of Suraj-u-Dowlah's engagements. He had scarcely signed the compact ere he devised new schemes against the English. The position of the French appeared to facilitate his object. Bussy was in the possession of great power and influence in the Deccan, and to him the Nawaub appealed for assistance to drive the English out of Bengal. Bussy readily fell into the Nawaub's plans.

But Clive was beforehand with them! He had obtained reliable information of the intrigues that were afoot, and, with Watson's aid, he determined to thwart them. The French had a large possession—Chander Nagore—some twenty-five miles higher up the river Hooghly. War having broken out in Europe (in 1756) between France and England, there was a valid excuse for operating against the place. The French, aware of the meditated attack, laid booms across the river, and sunk ships in the channel. Watson advanced up the river with the

men-of-war ; Clive moved along the shore, with 700 Europeans, and 1600 native troops. The ships cleared away the booms, and, getting near the fort, cannonaded it briskly ; the army attacked the place from land batteries, after getting possession of the outposts. In three hours, Chandernagore capitulated, and the British flag waved from its walls. The garrison, consisting of 500 French troops, and 1200 natives, were made prisoners of war ; but the civilians were allowed to depart in their wearing apparel, the Jesuits to take their church-plate, and the natives to remain unmolested. Upwards of one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, with stores and necessaries, large quantities of goods and money, fell into the hands of the victors. Better than all, they had ruined the principal settlement of the French on the Ganges, hitherto a serious impediment to the commerce of the English in Bengal.

Suraj-u-Dowlah shared in the mortification experienced by the French in this reverse, and took them under his protection, renouncing, practically, the treaty he had recently entered into with the English. Yet there was nothing decided in his course of action : oscillating between his fears and his hatred of our countrymen, he endeavoured to play a game of fast and loose, until he could make up his mind, to some settled procedure. To Clive it was apparent that the affairs of the Company would never proceed satisfactorily until the Nawaub was disposed of in one way or another. At this juncture the committee were made privy to a conspiracy formed by Meer Jaffier, the commander of the Nawaub's troops, Roy Dullub, the Minister of Finance, and a wealthy banker, named Juggut Seite, to remove the Nawaub from power, and place Meer Jaffier in the Soubahship of Bengal. The conspiracy was formed at Moorshedabad, and hatched at Calcutta. The committee were at first divided as to the policy of sharing in the intrigue. Clive, however, gave his vote peremptorily and firmly in favour of the espousal of Meer Jaffier's cause ; but, in order to lull the suspicions of the Nawaub, he continued to correspond with him on the most friendly terms. Omichund, the Hindoo banker, to whom allusion

has already been made, was the English agent in the intrigue. He was always about the person of the Nawaub, whom he hoodwinked by all manner of specious artifices. For his services in the affair, he was to receive from the committee a liberal compensation for the losses he had sustained in the siege of Calcutta. But he was not slow to perceive that if he had promoted the ends of the conspirators up to a certain point, he had, at the same time, become sufficiently aware of their movements to place those at Moorshedabad at least (Meer Jaffier, Mr. Watts, and others) in the immediate power of the Nawaub. He took advantage of these points in his favour to augment his demands. He unhesitatingly required that beyond the sum for which stipulation had already been made, he should receive five per cent. on all the moneys found in Suraj-u-Dowlah's treasury. The extortion was, at first, resisted. Omichund was unflinching. It was then determined to cheat him, by drawing up two secret agreements, in one of which (to be read to, or by him) his exactions should be admitted; while in the other no mention was to be made of his name. The fraud succeeded. Watson, the admiral, who, by his honesty, realised the popular notion of the British sailor, refused to put his name to the fictitious document. Clive, whose political integrity was of the loosest kind, got rid of the difficulty by forging Watson's signature. In those days the doctrine had not come into fashion, that what was morally wrong could not be politically right. It was thought quite fair, a century ago, to oppose European villainy to native rascality.

Omichund's co-operation being now secured, Watts fled with him to Calcutta, and Clive prepared for action.

When the English army moved to Chandernagore, Suraj-u-Dowlah's troops had been marched to Plassey and had encamped on a tract of ground called Cossimbazar, which, in the rainy seasons, when the river rises, becomes an island. To this point Clive advanced, prefacing his movement with a manifesto proclaiming the right of the English to deal with the French factory as they thought proper—a point which the Nawaub resisted. The Nawaub

sent Meer Jaffier to oppose Clive, and followed himself with a considerable force. Clive invoked the fulfilment of Meer Jaffier's secret pledge to join him:—the fears of the conspirator were greater than his ambition: he held back. Clive saw the peril of his position. He called a council of war, and, contrary to usage, gave his opinion the first, in favour of suspending operations—Majors Kirkpatrick and Grant, the next in seniority, “followed on the same side”—Coote was for instant action; there was a likelihood of the Nawaub's being joined by Bussy's force of Frenchmen, if time were allowed him, which would give the native power a preponderance. The council broke up, after resolving, by a large majority, to postpone operations. At night Clive took a solitary stroll in the wood, near the British encampment, and, turning over in his mind the debate of the day, came to the conclusion that the council's determination was erroneous. Without further communication with his staff, he at once gave orders that the army should advance with the dawn of day. He was obeyed with alacrity. At the close of a severe day's march, and after crossing the river, the British halted in a grove near Plassey,\* a mile from the entrenchments of the enemy. The grove was 800 yards in length, by 300 in breadth, and consisted of 3000 mango trees planted in regular rows.† These groves are numerous in Bengal: it is considered by the Hindoos a saving virtue to plant a grove. The grove was surrounded by an embankment, and near it was a hunting-seat of the Nawaub's, which defended one of Clive's flanks, and was available as an hospital. From the roof of the hunting-seat, Clive, with his telescope, was surveying the line of the Nawaub's works, when suddenly he beheld 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and 50 pieces of artillery advancing, in a semicircular order, to hem in his little force of 3000 men of all arms. The Nawaub's guns, 24 and 32 pounders, were carried on wooden stages, six feet high, drawn by numerous bullocks; but there were

\* Or *Plassey*, from *Palas*, a sacred tree.

† Not a vestige of the grove now remains, and the plain is covered with cultivation.

also four field-pieces belonging to a brigade of Frenchmen (deserters). The battle was begun by the Nawaub's artillery. Clive acted on the defensive; the grove and the embankments formed excellent cover. The English artillery was admirably served, and, as the columns of the enemy approached, the sustained musketry of the infantry did them infinite damage. To the 39th Foot belonged the honour and credit of the principal infantry operations of the memorable day. It was the first of the royal regiments employed in active service in India, whence its proud motto—*Primus in Indis*. The volleys and artillery practice played great havoc with the front ranks of the enemy. Some of the principal officers of the Nawaub fell, and of Meer Jaffier's constancy Suraj-u-Dowlah began to entertain doubts. He was advised by a pusillanimous staff to retire, and, in an evil hour, he commanded the retreat of his whole force. Clive saw his golden opportunity. As the massive and irregular columns of the Nawaub moved off, the British rushed from the grove, and fired: a panic seized upon the enemy, and a regular retreat became a disorderly flight; cattle, carriages, tents, baggage, were hastily abandoned, and fell into the hands of the British. Meer Jaffier drew off the field with his division, remaining neutral. Five hundred of the Nawaub's troops fell dead upon the field, while Clive lost less than seventy, killed and wounded. Thus was a great and, as regarded its results, a most important victory gained with very little generalship. The BATTLE OF PLASSEY, fought on the 22nd of June, 1757, decided the fate of the kingdom of Bengal.

## CHAPTER VII.

The assassination of Suraj-u-Dowlah — Meer Jaffier installed as Nawaub — Clive's wealth — War with France — Lally arrives in India — His successes against the English — Coote arrives — Restores the English fortresses — Clive installs Meer Jaffier — Sketch of the history of Upper India — Revolting cruelties and assassinations — Mahomedan doctrines — Alumghere, King of Delhi — Shah Alum retreats to Oude — The Nawaub of Oude joins Shah Alum, and the Invasion of Patna attempted — Clive goes to the rescue — Shah Alum retires — The Dutch advance from Batavia to Calcutta at Meer Jaffier's instance — Clive intercepts, defeats, and drives them back — Kossim Ali Khan — Massacre at Patna — Mutiny of Sepoys — Munro defeats the Oude Nawaub at Buxar — The King of Delhi invests the English with authority to collect and disburse revenue in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

SCARCELY allowing his victorious troops a respite, Clive pushed on for Moorshedabad, whither the affrighted Nawaub had fled. Suraj-u-Dowlah, the moment he arrived, called his councillors about him, and, at their instance, gave orders for a renewal of the contest; but a sudden reaction of sentiment, habitual with this wavering savage, induced him to rescind the orders almost as soon as they had been issued. Meer Jaffier had come up; the throne of Bengal tottered beneath the author of the atrocities of the Black Hole. He resolved on flight. A few words will describe the termination of his ignominious career.

He disguised himself in a mean dress, concealed about his person his most valuable jewels, and, attended only by his favourite concubine and a eunuch, let himself down from a window during the night, and secretly left his palace. As soon as he was missed, large parties were despatched in different directions in pursuit of him, by order of Meer Jaffier. He took shelter one night in a deserted garden, at Rajmahal, where he was discovered by

a man whose nose and ears he had caused to be cut off in the city. The man, in revenge, disclosed the Nawaub's retreat. He was conveyed back to Moorshedabad, with every possible indignity. On being dragged into the presence of Meer Jaffier—pale, weeping, and trembling—he threw himself at the feet of the traitor who so short a time before had been one of his most obsequious slaves. He petitioned most pathetically for his life. He was willing to accept it on any terms, however humiliating; but he who had slaughtered others with such cold-blooded indifference, was now doomed to plead in vain to the hearts of others. Perhaps Jaffier himself might have relented, but his son Meerun, then not out of his teens, and brutal and stone-hearted as Suraj-u-Dowlah himself, violently urged his instant death. Meerun entreated his father to retire into the private apartments of his palace, to take some rest. He begged that the prisoner might be left in his hands, and he would then consider what was best to be done with him. Meer Jaffier understood the hint and retired. Instantaneously Meerun signed to some attendants to assassinate the prisoner without a moment's delay, lest the clemency of the English general should prolong his dangerous existence. The sight of the ruffians struck terror to the cowardly heart of the Nawaub. He cried, he prayed, he implored. Meerun was obdurate. The fate of Hossein Kooly Khan of Dacca, who had been cut to pieces, by the Nawaub's orders, in the public street, and before his own eyes, suddenly recurred to him. "Enough, enough!" he suddenly exclaimed—"Hossein Kooly, thou art avenged!" He now entreated for a brief delay, that he might go through his ablutions and say his prayers. His impatient executioners threw a pot of water over him, and hacked him to death with their scimitars.

On the 25th of June, Clive reached Moorshedabad, and lost not an instant in consolidating the advantages gained at Plassey. He assisted at the installation of Meer Jaffier as Soubah of Bengal, and proceeded to claim the fulfilment of the contract to which Meer Jaffier had been a party. But the extravagance and profligacy of Suraj-u-

Dowlah had left a poor treasury and immense debts. The English were fain to be content with one-half of the sum for which they had stipulated, and a monopoly in the trade in saltpetre. Omichund demanded his share of the spoil : the trick of the forged deed annulled his claim. Baffled and foiled, he found all his hopes and labours defeated and made void. The enemies of Clive affirmed that the shock turned his brain ; that he died a helpless idiot, the victim of a fraud greater than his own : but there is reason to believe this an exaggeration, for Omichund certainly lived six years after the event, made a reasonable will, and bequeathed large sums in charity, even contributing to the benevolent funds of those who had injured him.

Clive returned to Calcutta a rich man : he had added 800,000*l.* to the treasury of his honourable masters, and had not neglected his own personal interests. To do him justice, he was moderate. With every temptation to appropriate vast sums—walking, to use Macaulay's phrase, "between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds"—he took only 250,000*l.* Now-a-days, a Government servant cannot accept or convey to himself one single fraction of property acquired from an enemy, or freely presented by a grateful native prince. By act of parliament, he must deposit even the simplest gift, or its equivalent, in the public treasury.

The trade of the English, after the victory of Plassey, began to flourish. Hitherto no great sense of security had been felt at Calcutta ; but recent events tended much to give stability to their interests, and prepare the way for measures of solid and growing improvement. Yet was it very apparent to the settlers, that no solid permanent good could be achieved while a vestige of French power remained in India. English success was incompatible with Gallic influence—

" Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere."

The Seven Years' War had begun in the previous year (1756), and the spirit of animosity, of course, extended to India ; at any rate, the excuse for hostility was provided.

The first military measures of the English were not successful. The French fled from Patua into Oude, before Major Coote could reach them. Calliaud, the governor of Trichinopoly, failed to reduce Madura and Tinevelly. The Count de Lally came out from France, with a large force of infantry and artillery, threatened Fort St. David's, and compelled the English to capitulate. He likewise took Devi Cottah, besieged Tanjore, made himself master of Arcot, and then attacked Madras. Reinforcements arriving from England, he experienced a check. The French fleets were compelled, first by the English, under Admiral Powell, and then by another naval force, to retreat. Coote, who had gone to England on furlough, returned in a year or two; took the command of the army, and defeated the French at Wandewash-taking prisoner M. Bussy, whom Lally had recalled, with his troops, from the Nizam's service. He next recovered Arcot, retook Devi Cottah, and all the other places of which the French had obtained possession, and, after a siege, captured Pondicherry. Lally had manifested, in all his operations, great military skill and undaunted perseverance, but he was not adequately supported by the authorities at the French settlements; the Mysoreans, under Hyder Ali, declined to assist him when they saw that his fortunes were on the wane, and the government of France had too much upon its hands nearer home to think of sending more troops to India. Poor Lally then, after witnessing the total annihilation of the French empire in India, returned to Paris, only to be cast into the Bastille, tried by the parliament, and executed under circumstances of peculiar indignity. The French East India Company was soon afterwards extinguished. This occurred in 1761.

Let us return to Clive, who had taken his part in the operations against the French, by sending Colonel Forde to the Coromandel coast. Forde, a capital officer, drove the enemy out of Rajamundry, and took from them Masulipatam, which was then ceded in perpetuity to the English by the ruler of Bengal. Meer Jaffier had scarcely been placed in the vice-regal chair, ere he began to experience

the truth of the adage that the head which wears a crown has a rather uneasy time of it. As the state of the treasury prevented his gratifying to the utmost the rapacious wants of the chieftains whom he had seduced from their allegiance to Suraj-u-Dowlah, these gentlemen menaced him, on all sides, with their resentment. Then the pay of the troops fell in arrear, and the revenue was collected with difficulty. To cap his troubles, Meer Jaffier dismissed the Hindoo officers of the government, whom his predecessors had always employed, and advanced in positions of trust. This materially multiplied the number of his enemies, and he had not talent and experience enough—for he was yet a mere youth—to cope with such accumulated difficulties. In his extremity, he appealed to Clive for practical aid. Clive took him by the hand, and, by his wisdom and energy, sustained the crazy authority of the Soubah for some time. And this was, apparently, at first no easy task, for among the enemies of the Sonbah was Shah Alum, the son of a late Emperor of Delhi.

It would, probably, bewilder the reader, if we were to attempt to unravel the complicated history of the wars, invasions, and intrigues which disturbed Hindostan, from the time of Aurungzebe to the year 1758. A familiarity with oriental names, and the geography of India, would alone enable an ordinary mind to reach a perfect comprehension of the events which, following each other in quick succession, gave additional power to the Mahrattas, raised up the Sikhs, established the Rohillas (a body of Affghans, who took their name from their able chieftain) in northern India, and planted Alumghere the Second, the great-grandson of Aurungzebe, upon the Delhi musmid. We must, however, briefly describe the political changes which had taken place after the death of Aurungzebe, that our story may lack nothing of coherence, and the true character of the people of India be the better understood.

Aurungzebe was succeeded by his son, Bahadar Shah, who, however, had to fight his brother for the crown, and slew him, in a battle near Agra. Bahadar Shah's reign, which lasted only five years, was remarkable for the rise of

the Sikhs, a religious sect, occupying the country of the five rivers, or Punjaub, who, abhorring the Mahommeydans, endeavoured to exterminate them. We shall have much to say about them hereafter. During the whole period of Bahadar Shah's government, the country between Lahore and Delhi was the scene of atrocious massacres by the Sikhs. Bahadar Shah was succeeded by Jehandar, who was put to death by a rebellious nephew, Farokshere, who, in his turn, after a troubled reign of six years, was seized, imprisoned and assassinated in his own palace at Delhi, by his vizier, or minister. During the reign of Farokshere, Bandu, a Sikh chieftain, and 740 of his followers, were conveyed to Delhi, and, while the former was tortured to death, the soldiers were beheaded. The two sovereigns who immediately succeeded Farokshere died within a few months of each other. Then came Mahomed Shah, whose long reign was a series of calamities. The Mahrattas, under Bajee Rao, obtained from him the extensive district of Malwa, and a very large territory south of the Chumbul, including Benares, Allahabad, and Muttra; the Nizam established an independent sovereignty in the Deccan, fixing the city of Hyderabad as his capital; and, worse than all, Nadir Shah, the sovereign of Persia—himself originally a bandit chief—invaded the Mogul empire, after reducing Affghanistan to subjection. Mahomed Shah went out to meet the Persian invader, and oppose his progress. A battle ensued, and the Persians were victorious. Nadir Shah advanced upon Delhi; the people rose, and thousands of Persians were put to the sword. Nadir Shah rode forth, hoping that his presence would put a stop to the violence of the people. On the contrary, it only served to inflame their hostility. He then retired to a little mosque, having previously given orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants. His orders were obeyed with fiendish alacrity. Numerous houses were burnt, and fifty thousand people fell beneath the swords of the enraged Persian invaders. It was not until Mahomed Shah, with tears in his eyes, implored the Persian monarch to spare the unhappy people, that the work of slaughter

ceased. Then Nadir Shah, glutting himself and his followers with the gold and jewels, the rich stuffs, the elephants, horses, and camels found in the city, and appropriating the superb peacock throne, retired from Hindostan, having previously reinstated the humbled monarch on his throne, and commanded the Mahratta princes to obey him, or incur the peril of Nadir Shah's wrath. A second invasion of the empire by the *Dooranee*\* chieftains of Afghanistan, which was repelled by the heir apparent, completed the measure of Mahomed Shah's troubles. Mahomed Shah dying soon afterwards, his son, Ahmed, came to the throne of Delhi, now shorn of much of its ancient consequence, and, in a few years, was deposed by Ghuzee-ood-Deen, a vizier, who first blinded and then murdered him, and raised Alumghere, the grandson of Aurungzebe, to the imperial dignity.

This succession of revolting cruelties and assassinations occurring in the highest places during one century of the Mahomedan rule sufficiently illustrates the guiding principles of the followers of the Prophet, and leaves us at little loss to understand the wanton barbarity enacted in India in 1857.

“The sword,” says the Prophet Mahomet, “is the key of Heaven and of Hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer; whoever falls in battle his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim.” The devil can quote Scripture for his purpose, and the Mahomedans are never at a loss for an excuse for bloodshed, with such passages as the foregoing from the Koran to justify atrocity.

The elevation of Aurungzebe's grandson, who took the title of Shah Jehan, led to the flight of Shah Alum, the son of Alumghere. He proceeded to Oude, where he was

\* This occurred in 1747. Abdalla or *Dooranee*, derived his name from *Dur* or *Door*, a pearl, which was given to him by a celebrated *Fakir* as a compliment to his valour. His followers are all called *Dooranee*.

sheltered by the Nawaub Soujah-u-Dowlah. This brings us back to the affairs of Bengal.

Oude is an extensive level country, lying between the river Ganges and the Himalayan chain of mountains. The reader will, perhaps, consult his map to understand precisely its position and dimensions. The soil of Oude is amazingly productive: it yields cotton, sugar, indigo, opium, and abundance of cereals. Its capital city is Lucknow, which contains magnificent palaces and superb mosques. Its population is large and profligate, for the native rulers, whose morals colour those of the humbler classes, have, in all time, been dissolute and unprincipled, and reckless of human life. The rural population are a very fine class of men, and it is from them that the sepoy army has been chiefly recruited.

The unpopularity of Meer Jaffier induced many thousands of Rohillas, Mahrattas, Affghans, &c., to enlist under the banners of Shah Alum. Proclaiming that his father had appointed him viceroy of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the youth, assisted by the Nawaub of Oude, moved on the important city of Patna, which he invested. Meer Jaffier appealed to Clive; and the colonel, with 450 Europeans and 2500 sepoys, advanced to the rescue.

The successes of the English army in the south, on the banks of the Hooghly, and against the French, had acquired for them so extraordinary a reputation, that the mere intelligence of Clive's approach to Patna struck terror into Shah Alum's camp. The Nawaub of Oude availed himself of an excuse for going to Allahabad, which fortress he seized, perfidiously murdering the proper owner. This important defection was followed by other desertions, so that the heir of the throne of the Moguls was at last fain to become a suppliant to Clive for subsistence.

The reward of Clive, for the promptitude of his assistance, was the rank of Chief Omrah, or lord of the empire, and a jaghire, or estate, yielding 30,000*l.* a year.

Hardly had Clive returned to Calcutta before new enemies to the English presented themselves in formidable array, instigated, secretly no doubt, by Meer Jaffier, who,

with all his professions and marks of gratitude, cherished a dislike to his benefactors, fearing that they would one day turn upon himself. These new enemies were the Dutch. Meer Jaffier was aware that the government of Batavia viewed the rise of the English with a jealous eye, and he concluded that they would be but too ready to fall into a scheme which, while it offered him a counterpoise to the English strength, would give them a share of the wealth of Indian commerce. England and Holland were at peace, but, as we have seen, the state of affairs in Europe had but slight influence on the operations of rival nations abroad.

Twenty or thirty miles above Calcutta, on the river Hooghly, is the town of Chinsurah. This was a Dutch settlement, well garrisoned. Batavia, the chief town on the Island of Java, was the principal station of the Dutch in the East. It was at Batavia that a fleet of seven ships was fitted out, with a force of seven hundred Europeans, and seven hundred Malays on board, to proceed to Chinsurah, and there co-operate with the rest of the Dutch forces in an attack on the English. Clive obtained intelligence of their purpose, and, at the risk of being called to account by the authorities at home for making war with a friendly ally, took measures to thwart the Dutch. Ably supported by Colonel Forde, he opposed his ships to theirs, and his troops to the Dutch troops, as soon as they were within a few miles of Calcutta. One battle decided the matter. The successors of Van Tromp were totally defeated. All the ships of the Hollander were taken, and of the seven hundred soldiers, only fourteen reached Chinsurah. Clive compelled the Dutch to pay the expenses of their wild crusade, and then returned to England with Colonel Forde, leaving Colonel Caillaud to command the Company's little army.

Soon after Clive's departure, two events occurred, of material importance to the English interest: Meer Jaffier was deposed by the people, for his misgovernment of Bengal, and Kossim Ali Khan was elected his successor. Alumghere having been assassinated at Delhi, Shah Alum, the fugitive, was proclaimed Emperor, with the sanction of

Ahmed, the Dooranee. Shah Alum, however, being destined of an army and a treasury, did not return to Delhi, but merely assumed the imperial title, and appointed his friend, the Nawaub of Oude, to be his vizier. Shah Alum now resumed his attempts to get possession of Bengal; but the gallantry, the energy, and the rapid movements of Colonel Caillaud and Captain Knox, at the head of compact bodies of troops, English and native mixed, defeated his project. The English adopted Kossim Ali Khan, on the deposition of Meer Jaffier, and expected to have found him a tractable instrument in their hands, but he soon exhibited a spirit of independence which led to the re-adoption of Jaffier by the Bengal Council. A civil war was the result. Kossim enlisted the Emperor Shah Alum and the Nawaub of Oude in his cause; he engaged a German adventurer, named Sumroo, to train sepoys after the European system; he plundered the Hindoo governor of Behar; made prisoners of the English in Patna and Cossimbazar, and sent them to Monghyr, which he had adopted as his capital. The British troops were set in motion in July, 1763, to curb this new opponent. They came up with and defeated his force at Gheriah and Oodiwa; they laid siege to Monghyr, and took 2000 sepoy prisoners. In retaliation, Kossim inhumanly ordered the murder of all his English prisoners, and the German, Sumroo, readily executed the barbarous mandate; he likewise put to death the Hindoo governor of Patna and some merchants of Moorshedabad. Major Carnac, who commanded the English, then took Patna by storm. Kossim fled to Oude. Carnac pursued him to the frontier, but was arrested in his course by the mutiny of three hundred of his Europeans, chiefly French and Germans, who marched off to Benares. Sumroo took advantage of the insurrectionary spirit to attack the English camp. He was repulsed with severe loss, and Carnac again halted to await reinforcements. These came in the following year (September, 1764), under Major Munro, but were at first of little avail, for the mutinous spirit again raged fiercely. An entire battalion of sepoys deserted to the enemy. They were in arrears of their pay.

The troops who had remained faithful followed, attacked, and captured them. Twenty-four of the chief mutineers were blown away from guns, in spite of the threats and remonstrances of the native officers. Munro knew the importance of firmness, in such exigencies, and he had his reward. Soon afterwards he marched against the Nawaub of Oude, and on the 22nd of October, 1764, defeated him in battle, at Buxar, thus establishing the English as the chief military power in India. In a political view, also, the battle was pregnant with important results. The Shah, or King of Delhi, came over to the English, and ceded to them all the country as far as Benares, on condition of their reducing to his authority the Nawaub of Oude, whose slave he had virtually been. The Nawaub succumbed; the miscreant Sumroo was given up; the Nawaub was forced to pay the expenses of the war, and the "Great Mogul" granted the Company perpetual authority (Dewanee) to collect and disburse the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and to administer justice within those vast provinces—in other words, he left them masters of the country, both in fact and in name. On their part, the Company agreed to allow the King 26,000*l.* per annum; and they put him in possession of Korah and Allahabad.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Progress of missionary efforts in India—Jesuits described—The Danish missions—Kiernander, the Swede—The English Protestants—British society in 1760—The first formation of a regular Sepoy army—Clive raised to the Peerage—He returns to India as Governor and Commander-in-Chief—His reforms.

"OUGHT we not to Christianise India?" is a question that has recently been propounded by the principal organs of public opinion. The 7th of October, 1857, was a day of "Prayer, Fasting, and Humiliation," throughout the United

Kingdom ; and the sermons preached upon that occasion more or less dwelt upon the short-comings of the Christian government, in abstaining from the conversion of Hindoo and Mussulman, and pointed to the propagation of the Gospel as the best and surest means of ruling the people of India for the future. The feelings of the British community responded, in a measure, to the evangelical views of the clergy.

We are not called upon, in this stage of our historical narrative, to discuss the question of the imprudence, or otherwise, of conniving at the usages of a recently-conquered people, who, in their own country, are in the proportion of one hundred millions to our forty thousand ; but the occasion seems proper for describing the progress which had been made by the missionaries in India, down to the year 1765 (the period we have reached), and the state of morality among the European community.

It has been mentioned that the Jesuits, who accompanied the early Portuguese and the French, had begun the work of proselytism in the south of India. As long as those Roman Catholic powers had a *locus standi*, the missionaries were, after a fashion, very successful in creating a spurious sort of Christians. To do them justice, they were very zealous in their calling ; for the Church of Rome was losing ground in Europe, under the powerful influence of the Lutheran Reformation, and their priests sought to repair and balance the loss, by subjugating the Gentile nations to her sway. The means resorted to by the missionaries to effect this object in India, even as recorded by their own historians and reporters, were either very amusing or very disgusting. When famines, of periodical occurrence in the south and west of India, drove the people to sell themselves and their children as slaves, the Jesuits bought them up, and, *sprinkling them with holy water*, announced to Christendom that they had baptized thousands of heathens, and converted them to Romanism ! Following this up by the destruction of their idols, and the establishment of papistical schools, they did contrive to make many nominal followers of the Cross, and these they sent among

the poorest and lowest of the people, that they might be inoculated with a similar attachment to Catholicism. The Jesuits next resorted to the unpardonable process of falsifying the Gospel, or exaggerating the simple story of the advent of our Saviour, to suit the grovelling apprehensions of the natives. The priests themselves assumed the appearance and manners of Brahmin ascetics (Sunniaasses); blended the forms of Hindooism with those of Catholicism, forged miracles, and, where they had the means, cruelly persecuted the poorer classes, to bring them within the pale of Christianity. In their letters to Europe, they continually spoke of the pagans being tormented by devils, whom the prayers of the priests exorcised; of the tigers in the jungle and the high road turning away from the neophyte, and destroying the heathen; and of the pure and holy lives led by the converts, whom they professed to number by hundreds of thousands, soon after the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and whom they lauded as equalling the “angels,” in the sublimity of their behaviour! But there were sincere and honest men among the Jesuits themselves, and these did not scruple to denounce the gross hypocrisy of those daring reporters, whose lives appear to have been stained by every description of low debauchery. The Abbé Dubois, a zealous and estimable missionary, himself declared, as the result of the system of the Society of Jesus, that in twenty-five years, during which he had familiarly conversed with the native Christians, the catechists, and native clergy, he had not *anywhere met a sincere and undisguised Christian.* In fact, Jesuitical propagandism was a fraud from beginning to end. The whole course of its nefarious career is thus admirably summed up by a writer in the *Calcutta Review* :—

“ Of all the forms of devil worship, Hindooism is the most gross and the most cruel; and, as will always be found, the more palpable the darkness, the more stupid the ignorance of the worshippers, so, in exact proportion, the more dreadful are the austerities and tortures which that scoffing and malignant spirit imposes upon them. But it

was the very masterpiece of Satanic cunning to bow beneath this rude and galling yoke—not ignorant heathens, who knew no better, but enlightened European Christian missionaries, who deliberately descended from their high vantage ground, and surrendered their happiness, their birthright, their truth, their Christian principles, to deceive and entrap the unwary, and to live like Hindoo Sunnasses\* —that is, like something between a beast and a man. We allow them to have been able men, well born, and highly educated; men of undaunted courage, for during a century and a half they fought against all things, sacred and profane; models for all missionaries in zeal, in devotion to their work, in self-sacrifice, in acquaintance with the languages, manners, and habits of the people; and, therefore, it is impossible not to lament and abhor the accursed policy of which they were the willing victims, and which will render their names and their history to all succeeding ages lessons of ruin and disgrace. So will it ever be when men leave God's ways to follow their own, and seek for other guidance when that word which God has given to be 'a light unto our feet, and a lamp unto our path.'"

We have a pleasanter picture to draw of the efforts of the Protestant missionaries. Early in the last century, the King of Denmark, who had one or two possessions in India, despatched at his own cost two members of the University of Halle to establish a mission in Tranquebar. To the honour of our George I., he assisted, pecuniarily and by encouraging letters, in the good undertaking. Arrived in India, the two "soldiers of Christ" found that they had a stupendous task before them, for they had not only to contend with deeply-rooted heathen superstition, but with the false impressions received of Christianity from the corrupt teachings of the Portuguese, and the scandalous lives of the Christians in India. But they boldly grappled with the difficulties which confronted them.

\* Fakirs, men who go nearly naked, suffer their hair to grow, cover their persons with ashes and filth, or dirty orange-coloured clothes, and affect a severe piety. They subsist by charitable offerings, and are known to be as profligate as the most openly dissolute Hindoo.

They studied the Portuguese jargon, which had become the *patois* of the people on the coast, and they mastered the Malabaree dialect. Thus armed, they preached the Gospel, illustrating its beauty and simplicity by the purity of their own behaviour. They did not seek to dazzle Europe by announcing that they converted the heathen by thousands and tens of thousands: it was their pride and joy, that, after a few years of intense labour, they could truthfully say, they had baptised some two or three hundred of the poorer classes, of whose sincerity there appeared to be little doubt. Like the colonist, who, landing upon an island, or the shores of a continent covered with primeval forests, commences operations by felling lofty trees and draining marshes, these exemplary Danes began their work by establishing schools and clearing away the mists and prejudices which clouded the Hindoo mind. In the estimation of those who knew how arduous was their self-imposed task, Ziegenbalz and Plutscho—for such were their names—were eminently successful. They extended their labours to Ceylon, where they had a similar triumph. This encouraged the friends of the Mission in Europe, and, accordingly, a few years afterwards, other missionaries proceeded to Madras and other places in Southern India. Among these was Kiernander, a Swede, a man remarkable alike for his learning, his piety, and his courageous zeal. He went first to Cuddalore, a town in southern Arcot, and about a mile from Fort St. David. He arrived in 1760, the year following the invasion of Northern India by Nadir Shah, and the massacre of Delhi.

Kiernander's path was strewed with an alternation of roses and thorns. His first steps were comparatively smooth and easy. His predecessors were able pioneers: they had prepared Bibles, grammars, and other school-books in the Tamil and Portuguese languages—excellent materials of missionary enterprise. Following their example, Kiernander established schools, baptised converts, and admitted Romanists into the Church; for he considered it as much his duty to divert the people from the

religion taught by the Jesuits, as from the errors of Hindooism or the doctrines of Mahomet. Kiernander married well; his wife was rich, and her money was available for missionary purposes. His schools prospered, and his converts augmented. Six years after his arrival at Cuddalore, his congregation amounted to 361 persons. Thus far the roses. Then came the wars in which Dupleix first, and Lally afterwards, disturbed the peace of Southern India. The French troops aided the cause of the Popish priests. Every village in the country around Cuddalore was filled with Popish emissaries, who slandered the Protestant missionaries. Yet Lally was considerate towards the missionaries personally, and gave strict commands that their houses should be spared, and their occupants unmolested. But Kiernander and his colleagues, fearing that they would be required to take the oath of allegiance to the French, at once abandoned Cuddalore, and went with sad and heavy hearts to Tranquebar, hundreds of the natives bewailing their departure. It was much to the honour of the missionaries, that they had raised up so many friends while at Tranquebar. In 1758, Kiernander received an invitation from Colonel Clive to go up to Bengal, and establish schools at Calcutta. He readily availed himself of so good an opportunity of extending the sphere of his useful labours. In less than a year he had 174 boys in his school, English, Armenian, Portuguese, and Bengalee. His first converts were a Brahmin and a Papist. Portuguese was the classical language of the school—a bastard Portuguese like that still spoken in Southern India—a strange admixture of English, Dutch, French, pure Portuguese, and Indian words. Kiernander was warmly supported by the Company's chaplains at Calcutta, but in two or three years after his arrival they unfortunately died. His wife also died; and a dreadful epidemic breaking out in Calcutta, carried off many hundreds of persons, and, for a time, prostrated Kiernander himself. Thus far the thorny obstructions of the bold and brave career of the first Protestant missionary to Bengal. We shall see, in future chapters, how his renewed efforts flourished, and how ably

and profitably they were followed up by Carey, Marshman, and Ward. There is nothing more interesting in the history of British connection with India. Some years since, an earnest and accomplished writer expressed his full conviction that the regeneration of the land would essentially depend upon the progress of that Christianity which was first preached to the natives of Bengal by Kiernander. We seem to be upon the threshold of the fulfilment of this prophecy. It is the duty of every public writer to assist in its attainment. "Science, philosophy, and art have done much to promote the comfort of men, but there is a higher good that relates to earthly life, which they have failed to accomplish. And if he is blest who multiplies the resources of society, who provides for increased communication between the various tribes of men, for the increase of personal comfort and social happiness; who, by trade and commerce, opens to the poor blessings never heretofore enjoyed; who gives mental light instead of darkness, and knowledge instead of ignorance: much more is he a benefactor whose labours tend, under God's blessing, to diminish human suffering and human guilt, to purify society from crime, to implant the love of truth and uprightness, to repress injustice, to encourage mutual confidence, to discourage vice, to promote true morality; whose efforts, in a word, reach to the spring of happiness, the affections of man, and lead them inwardly to hate what is evil, and to cleave to that which is good. The increase of earthly comforts belongs to commerce; the enlargement of the sphere as well as the resources of mental activity is the aim of science; but the subjugation of moral evil, in all its forms, and to whatever extent, is the province of religion alone. Happy are they who contribute to the inferior good in society. Thrice happy they whose work is diverted towards the true and lasting prosperity of the immortal soul."

If the spiritual wants of the natives of India were great in the year 1760, not less in need of moral improvement were the English, who composed the local government of the East India Company, and the general residents of

Calcutta. All the chronicles of the time agree in representing society as corrupt to the core—a source of uneasiness to the East India Company in England, and a subject of astonishment and contempt to the dark races of Bengal. “No man,” says Mr. John Marshman, the son of the renowned missionary, and for several years the proprietor and editor of the *Friend of India* (a popular newspaper published near Calcutta), “not even the members of the Council sought the good of the Company; the object of every one in the service was to amass a rapid fortune, by whatever means, and to return speedily to England. Injustice prevailed in every department; the natives were oppressed till the name of European stunk in the nostrils of the people.”\*

George III., at whose accession the moral tone of English society began to improve, had not ascended the British throne at the period of which we treat. There was licentiousness in the court of George II.: it pervaded every branch of society in England, and characterised in a more marked degree the offshoots of society who found their way to India. Every man drank, every man plundered his master and his (native) neighbour; all blasphemed, and not a few revelled in the coarse pleasures of the zenana. Few English ladies had found their way to India, to exercise a benign influence over the men of the time; and of those who did venture to the East, the majority were young and thoughtless persons, who were more likely to be contaminated by the pestilential moral atmosphere which they breathed, than capable of correcting its noxious qualities by the superior beauty of their own lives.

In advance of the operations of the holy Christian missionaries, the army was the grand instrument of civilisation. It was the weapon of conquest, and conquest was the first step to enlightenment. At the battle of Plassey, there were 1500 sepoys in the British service, but the consequences of that victory led to a further augmentation of

\* History of Bengal.

the force recruited from the inhabitants of Bengal, who, in those days, were much more warlike and altogether better soldiers than they afterwards became. The constant state of warfare in which the native chiefs were kept, by their own ambitious views and designs, obliged every man to carry arms in defence of his person and property, and thus kept alive and cherished a martial spirit in the inhabitants. At first the European officers preferred seeking recruits from among the Mussulmans, under the idea that they would form a counterpoise to the Hindoos, and prevent those combinations which were possible if each corps consisted of one caste; but it was soon found that the high-caste Hindoo made the best soldier, and officers sought them in preference to the Mussulmans. In this way fifteen battalions of Bengal Native Infantry were raised, between 1757 and 1765; and, excepting in the instance of the mutiny of one battalion which had been kept for a long time in arrears of pay, they were faithful to their engagements, and took great pride in the service. At a somewhat earlier period the Madras battalions were formed: the Hindoos belonging to these corps were chiefly of the Rajpoot caste, and there are remarkable instances on record of their attachment to their European leaders. In 1748, a sepoy shot an officer, named Haliburton, for reprimanding him for some offence. "The villain did not live long, for his comrades who stood by cut him to pieces immediately." Orme, the author of *A Military History of Hindostan*, has given us a very interesting account of the behaviour of the sepoys at the defence of Arcot, but he omits to mention an occurrence worthy of being recorded, as redounding infinitely to their honour. When provisions were very low (the fact is stated by Sir John Malcolm), the Hindoo sepoys entreated their commander to allow them to boil the rice—the only food left—for the whole garrison. "Your English soldiers," they said, "can eat from our hands, though we cannot from theirs; we will allot, as their share, every grain of the rice, and subsist ourselves by drinking the water in which it has been boiled."

We recur to the general course of our history. Grati-fied as the East India proprietors in England may have been at the increase of their trade, and the renown they were acquiring throughout Europe, they could not be inattentive to the consequences of the territorial aggrandisement which had resulted from the battle of Buxar, particularly as the news of the military successes achieved by Coote, Calliaud, and Munro, was accompanied by intelligence of deranged finances, mutinous troops, and dissensions in the council. In fact, their "swelling port" sustained a severe shock from the combined recklessness and good fortune of their servants, and they felt the necessity of looking their affairs fully in the face, and applying an instant remedy, before the British public should get scent of their mismanagement, and compel parliament to interfere.

In the dilemma in which the Company found themselves, they turned to Clive. He had now become a peer of the realm, and although he was at issue with the Court of Directors, respecting the estate he had acquired in India, and had a powerful enemy in their deputy chairman, the Company determined that he should be solicited to return to India, and endeavour to retrieve their affairs.

Tired of inactivity at home, and glad, perhaps, of the opportunity of carrying his point against the Company, Lord Clive accepted the mission now offered him, but upon his own terms. He obtained the appointment of Governor of Bengal and President of the Council, conjointly with that of Commander-in-Chief. A committee of four gentlemen, persons of undoubted ability, were nominated to assist him, and their authority was declared paramount to that of the Bengal Council, of whom they were to be thoroughly independent.

Lord Clive arrived in India in 1765. He saw at a glance the state of affairs. For once, rumour had not exaggerated: things were even worse than they had been represented. His strong mind was immediately applied to the great business of reform. With one hand, he swept away the privilege of private trade, so long enjoyed and

shamefully abused by the Company's servants, increasing their salaries to a liberal extent, by way of compensation for the enforced sacrifice, and as presenting a more equitable system of official remuneration. With the other, he abolished the double batta, or extra allowances, hitherto drawn by the officers of the army, and endeavoured to render them more soldierlike, and less mercenary. The changes effected in the civil department were submitted to without a murmur, and the extra expense which the augmented salaries entailed upon the Company was met by the establishment of monopolies in the trade of salt, tobacco, and betel nut. But the reforms in the military establishment encountered opposition and mutiny. In one day, 200 officers sent in their resignations, in the hope of driving Lord Clive from his retrenching purposes. His spirit rose with the difficulty of his position. He sent to Madras for officers, gave commissions to merchants, tried some of the mutineers by court-martial, and dismissed others without that military ceremony.

Clive's foreign policy was not less judicious or successful than his reform of the services. Meer Jaffier having died, bequeathing to Clive a large sum of money, which the victor of Plassey liberally converted into a fund for the relief and pension of decayed or retired officers, an infant son was placed on the *muzum* of Bengal, and thenceforward "the Nawab" became a convenient cipher. From the King of Delhi, Clive obtained a formal grant of the "Dewanee," or civil power, in the three acquired provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; but, owing in some measure to his dread of the effects of a sudden and violent change, and in some degree also to his ignorance of the state of the country, and of the mode in which the internal administration had been conducted, he left the management of the civil, criminal, and fiscal departments, as he found them, in the hands of the Nawab's ministers, and limited the duties of the English government to the receipt of revenue and the maintenance of order and quiet through its military power. In one word, it was Clive's object to effect an arrangement by which the risks and responsi-

bilities of authority were to be ignored by the Company, while the emoluments were complacently swallowed. And he succeeded in that object. Then, with augmented fame, and the consciousness that he had satisfactorily performed an Herculean task, Clive set sail for England at the close of the year 1767.

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## CHAPTER IX.

The English Nabobs — Recurring difficulties in India — Public scrutiny awakened — Hyder Ali — Operations against him in Mysore — The Nizam — The Mysoreans threaten Madras — The famine in Bengal in 1770 — Parliamentary interference in the affairs of India — A Governor-General and Council appointed, and a High Court of Judicature established — The Nawaub of the Carnatic — Sir John Lindsay — Tanjore taken, and the Rajah deposed — Arrival of Lord Pigot — The Rajah restored — The Council imprison Lord Pigot — Indignation of the authorities and people in England — Prosecution of the Council.

For two years succeeding the final departure of Lord Clive, the position of the English in India was undisturbed. Neither the Verelets, the Bourchiers, nor the Hodges, who severally governed the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had their talents and energies called into play. In England, on the contrary, public attention was directed to Indian affairs, after a manner very inconvenient to the Company, who, down to 1767, had managed to keep things close, to rule independently, and to plunder with impunity. As the wealth of the Venetians excited the cupidity of the Portuguese, and the success of the Portuguese had stimulated the Dutch and the English, so did the evidence of the wealth acquired by the India proprietors at home, and their servants abroad, unsettle the minds of the outsiders in England, and cause them disagreeable heartburnings. For upwards of one hundred and sixty years the Company had managed to keep

ignorance of their affairs, or the capabilities of their field of enterprise. "It was the order of the day to conceal as much as possible from the greedy public. The Company worked with their hands under a cloth, like the Banians, the secret grips and touches by which matters were signified and determined being hidden from the rest of the world. To this they were moved by a strong instinct of self-preservation and defence, knowing that there were sharp expectants looking on with wolfish eyes, and longing for the day of partition of monopoly, and going snacks for profits, if not of monopolising monopoly." But even as the donkey, proud of his lion's skin, betrayed his asinine character by an attempt at a roar, so did the Company's servants, by their passion for display, abandon the law of self-preservation. There were no grander people in London and the country than your Nabobs. Possessing princely wealth, they gave themselves princely airs. They built fine houses, kept large retinues of servants, entertained those who would accept their hospitalities, and endeavoured to acquire a lofty social position. In this, however, they rarely succeeded. The titled aristocracy treated them as *parvenus*; the gentry were offended with the supereciliousness born of unlimited authority among abject orientals; and the lower orders associated them with ideas of oppression and spoliation, craftiness and cruelty. Their appearance was not in their favour. The Indian diet and habits had disturbed their livers and jaundiced their visages; their gait was slow and shuffling; their costume peculiar, and their manners formal. The conversation of these "Old Indians" was bounded by the orientalism of their ideas, and their treatment of inferiors smacked of the *hauteur* of caste. They looked upon themselves as the Brahmins of society, and the rest of the world as the Sudras. To the novelist, the dramatist, and the caricaturist, the Nabob supplied capital material; but the type was uniform. Every Nabob was rich, vain, petulant, and troubled occasionally with the visitings of conscience. He had always done something or other that had to be kept very dark; he either had a daughter as haughty as himself,

or a spendthrift son, who deemed seduction the “proper thing,” and gambling the attribute of a gentleman. In a word, the East Indian Nabob—which term it is hardly necessary to say was a corruption of *Nuzaub*—was a very disagreeable, unpopular sort of person, that was to be put down. The year 1767 witnessed the *premier pas*. The engineer was hoist with his own petard.

Like many modern companies, the East India Corporation believed that the Pactolian stream, whose course they directed, was destined to flow for ever. Dazzled by visions of gold, they took no account of the expenses that had been incurred by recent conquests, or of the charge which their retention involved, and at once declared a dividend of twelve and a half per cent., at the very time when the revenue of their territorial possessions was inadequate to meet the charges of government. To obtain this “dividend,” it was necessary to borrow money at usurious interest. The attention of parliament and the ministry was attracted to this circumstance, and the country then asked, whether it was fitting that “mere traders should be permitted to exercise sovereignty over a great and extending empire.” From that hour India became an object of interest to the people of England, to be looked at occasionally, handled tenderly, and spoken of as a dependency of which they had reason to be proud. Happy would it have been for the empire, if the notice bestowed upon it by the British people and the legislature had been less spasmodic, and more decidedly directed to a wise and liberal course of administration.

The year which witnessed the first innovation upon the close system was distinguished abroad by the appearance of a powerful native enemy, who was destined to play a very conspicuous part in the history of the wars in the south of India. This was Hyder Ali.

A French biographer of this Mysorean brigand states that he was the son of a “general of ten thousand horse,” who held Divanelli, in the province of Bangalore, in fief from the Nizam. The quota of troops supplied under this feudal tenure was fifty horsemen and two hundred matchlock-

men. The command of this little force was given to Hyder Ali by his father, and, in his 34th year, Hyder first smelt powder under Dupleix, when fighting the battles of Mirzaffier Jung. The European method of discipline and manœuvre interested Hyder Ali; and he not only studied it with attention, but caused it to be imitated by some of his own troops, in his marauding expeditions and his campaign against the Mahrattas; and he furthermore induced sundry of the officers of Dupleix' force to enter his service. He continued to serve with the French while the war lasted, and then retired to a fortress which had devolved upon him by the death of a childless elder brother. Attached to the fortress was a command of 15,000 men; and, what was of more consequence to his ambition, Hyder became generalissimo to the Rajah of Mysore. On the death of the rajah, Hyder, after a time, obtained the regency of the kingdom, by getting rid of the prime minister, and subsequently, by a succession of artifices, and a triumph over reverses, acquired the sovereignty, establishing his court at Seringapatam.

The rapid rise of Hyder Ali alarmed the princes of the Deccan. Nizam Ali, who obtained the soubahship of the Deccan, by the murder of his brother, in 1760, and Madoo Rao, the ruler of the Mahrattas—the leading chieftains of the south—resolved on the invasion of Mysore: the former calling on the English to assist him in the prosecution of hostilities. The Company, who had placed the King of Delhi under heavy obligations to them, had obtained from him an imperial firman, which granted them a large tract of country along the Coromandel coast, called the Northern Circars, which had always been considered a part of the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The Nizam, who was thoroughly independent of the Mogul, had refused to allow the English to assume possession of this territory, unless they undertook to pay him an annual tribute, and assist him, when needful, with troops. To these conditions they found it prudent to assent. And now the Nizam claimed the fulfilment of that part of the compact which pledged them to military aid. The English complied at once, and

thus became involved in hostile relations with Hyder Ali. They were sufficiently acquainted with the aggrandising spirit of Hyder Ali, to be sensible that, if they did not take part with the Nizam against him, they would, sooner or later, have to contend with the Mysoreau single-handed, in defence of their own possessions.

The geographical position of Mysore, which, with the adjacent territory, was the theatre of the war, threw all the responsibility of the operations against Hyder Ali upon the presidency of Madras. At this period there were three European regiments of infantry, about 400 artillerymen, and a few hundred natives who garrisoned the small fortresses. The native army consisted of thirty battalions, diffused over the territory. Colonel Smith, an officer of considerable ability and experience, took the field against Hyder, and obtained easy possession of a few small places. But Hyder appeared with such an enormous force of cavalry, that the Nizam looked upon the contest as of very doubtful issue, and, with the fabled sagacity of the bat, drew off at a critical juncture, making peace with Hyder Ali, who was thus enabled to devote the whole of his attention to the English. Smith was, in some respects, at a great disadvantage. The inferiority of his cavalry, entirely native, obliged him to limit the scene of his operations to the mountainous country ; his convoys were exposed to be cut off by Hyder's freebooting horse, who ravaged the country at will ; he experienced great difficulty in obtaining supplies and carriage, and was hampered by the ignorance and parsimony of the Madras government. To quote a very impartial French writer in the interest of Hyder, "The governor and council of Madras, without having any well-founded knowledge of the forces of Hyder, either with respect to numbers or description, and at the same time ignorant of the nature of the country, were incessantly giving orders contrary to his (Smith's) views and every rational principle of war ; and even went so far as to reproach him for the ravages made by Hyder's cavalry, though, in his advices to them previous to the commencement of the war, he had predicted th

them ; and, as those gentlemen never lost sight of the occasion for enriching themselves, they supplied the army by means of contractors, with whom they were in league, treating the inhabitants of Madras in the most vexatious and odious manner, under pretence of furnishing the army with necessaries." The last passage alluded to the hiring of cattle, the contractors taking them at a pugoda (six shillings) per month, charging the company three pagodas, and the substitution of Batavia rum, an imported article, for the arrack made in the country.

There were several French officers in the field with Hyder, and a few Europeans, who served his guns ; but Smith had the advantage in artillery. Several actions were fought with varied success, the English generally remaining masters of the ground. The Nizam forsook Hyder as his fortunes fluctuated, and resumed his negotiations with the English. He encouraged the Madras government to believe the conquest of Mysore possible, and, as an inducement to the Nizam to join them earnestly against Hyder, they actually conferred upon him the title of its sovereignty, and prepared for greater struggles. Colonel Smith remonstrated with them upon the folly and danger of this proceeding. In reward for his unpalatable advice he was superseded by Colonel Wood. But Hyder was more than a match for Wood. While Wood's soldiers wore themselves out in forced marches, Hyder's cavalry flitted from place to place, plundering and burning towns and villages—now getting on Wood's flanks, now on his rear. At length, headed by Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder, then a boy of eighteen, the Mysoreans appeared before Madras with 6000 horse, and threatened the Native or Black town. This movement had been effected by drawing the English troops from the vicinity of the Presidency by a show of timidity, and then making a rapid retrograde march of 120 miles in three days. The consternation which the appearance of these marauders created may be conceived. There was in the Black town a population of 400,000 persons, among whom were many Europeans and Armenians, owners of rich shops and wa-

houses. As the fugitives from the adjacent villages ran into the town with the cry of "Hyder is coming," a general rush was made into Fort St. George for protection. Tippoo took post on St. Thomas's Mount. Colonel Call, the chief engineer at Fort St. George, detached troops to defend the entrance to the town. Nevertheless, Tippoo could have captured it with ease, if his troopers had been prompt and resolute. But he had no artillery, and the guns of Fort St. George overawed him. He intended, therefore, to limit his plunder to the villas and garden-houses in the immediate vicinity; but news arriving of a victory over Hyder, at Tirnomalee, and of the approach of Colonel Smith to relieve Madras, the Mysoreans readily agreed to a treaty of peace, which left Hyder, the Nizam, and the English, in 1769, exactly where they had been two years previously.

The year 1770 was distinguished by one of those natural visitations, which afflict myriads, and have a serious effect upon the resources of the government of the country. A famine raged in Bengal.

The staple food of the lower classes in the vast province of Bengal is rice. Rice will only grow immersed in water, or when the country is covered with the alluvial deposits, after the waters have subsided. Lower Bengal is a network of rivers, serving the purposes of irrigation, and, in addition to the supply thus obtained, the rains, which fall heavily for four months in the year (from July to October), completely flood the fields. In the dry season, you may travel across the country in a carriage; during the rains, it may be traversed in a boat drawing seven feet of water. The rice is sown, in some parts, before the irrigation and saturation commence. As the waters recede, or are absorbed by the earth, the whole country presents the appearance of a vast emerald-green plain: the grain is sprouting—there is promise of abundance for millions. This remarkable fertility has procured for the province the title of the Paradise of Nations. The rains of 1770 having been delayed beyond the usual period, excessive

aridity was the consequence. Conflagrations, the ordinary result of the dryness of wood and thatching, becoming frequent, numerous large storehouses, full of grain, were destroyed, and thousands of persons rendered houseless. Then the rain trickled from the heavens in unusually small effusion, and the beds of the rivers were scarcely moistened, the wells were not fed, the tanks dried up ; naturally, the earth yielded no fruit. The awful desolation which swept through the land is indescribable. Those who perished of hunger were reckoned by millions. Rice was only to be procured at three seers (six pounds) the rupee, or nearly five pence per lb.—famine price in a country where the wages of labour would scarcely supply half a pound of rice per diem for each of three members of a family.

Of course, the revenue suffered materially by this visitation. Rents had to be remitted, and succour afforded. Occurring at the heels of the war with Hyder Ali, conjointly with events elsewhere, which will be presently noticed, the famine brought the financial difficulties of the East India Company to a crisis. They stood upon the brink of ruin in 1772. Parliament was, consequently, compelled to interfere. Although the colonists of America had begun to clamour against British oppression, and to raise a feeling of uneasiness in the legislature, the affairs of India seemed to claim paramount attention. A Reform Bill was introduced into both houses, and, under its operation, a Governor-General and four members of council were appointed to rule in Bengal, with authority to control the Madras and Bombay governments ; and a high court of judicature was established at Calcutta, consisting of a chief justice, and three puisne judges. Thus, while the political system was sought to be rectified, an improvement was attempted in the judicial administration. To render the deliberations and elections at the India House less democratic, the new bill raised the qualification of voters to the possession of 1000*l.* stock. The bill became law in October, 1773. The Company was much irritated at the limitation of their power and consequence,

but derived some consolation from a loan of a million sterling, and the permission to send tea to any part of the world without the payment of export duty. Mr. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General, with a salary of 25,000*l.* a year, and Sir Elijah Impey was the first Chief Justice, with 8000*l.* a year.

We must leave, for the moment, the government of Bengal, to glance at what had been doing at Madras, during the three or four years following the first war with Hyder Ali.

The Nawaub of the Carnatic, Mahomed Ali, to whom reference has been made in the fifth chapter of this historical sketch, had been acknowledged as the undoubted sovereign of the country, and the rightful possessor of both military and financial power. But his total unfitness to govern rendered it necessary that some of the Company's troops, belonging to the Madras presidency, should protect the country: the expense of their maintenance being defrayed out of the Nawaub's revenues. The mismanagement of the Nawaub plunged him into difficulties: he borrowed largely of usurers, and gave them liens upon the revenues of certain districts, with authority to draw the money direct from the collectors. The Madras government could not view these proceedings without concern. They interfered to prevent the alienation of the property, and this interference excited angry feelings, and was treated by the interested parties as a daring encroachment upon the Nawaub's rights.

Things were in this state when Sir John Lindsay arrived. He had been sent out with some frigates "to give countenance and protection to the Company's settlements and affairs," in pursuance of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which stipulated that the territorial acquisitions of France and England in India should be mutually given up. Lindsay's authority extended to direct negotiations with the Indian sovereigns in general, and he was not slow to manifest his independence of the Madras governor and council. The Nawaub—or rather the people about him—imme-

diately enlisted Sir John in his interest ; and disputes, consequently, ran high between Lindsay and the Madras authorities. Now, it had been stipulated in the treaty with Hyder, that, in the event of either party being attacked, they should mutually assist in repelling the aggressor. Unluckily for the Madras government, the Mahrattas invaded Mysore in 1770. The Nawaub of the Carnatic was with them, in sympathy at least, for he hated Hyder, and dreaded lest opposition should place his dominions at the mercy of the Mahrattas. Besides, the latter made him large promises. Hyder called upon the English to fulfil the terms of the treaty, and take arms in his behalf. They were irresolute. He offered thirty thousand pounds for their aid. They were still obdurate. Lindsay urged the adoption of the Nawaub's cause, and even employed menacing language. The Home Government recalled Lindsay, and sent out Sir Robert Harland to succeed him. Harland formed an alliance with the Mahrattas ; the Madras government remained firm in their opposition. In the end, the Nawaub promised that a peace should be made with the Mahrattas, on terms very unfavourable to Hyder Ali, who thenceforth conceived the greatest antipathy to the English.

The neutrality of the Company in the misunderstanding between Hyder and the Nawaub did not extend to all the operations of the latter. It appears that the Nawaub coveted the Rajahship of Tanjore. Tanjore had formerly constituted a part of the dominions of the Mahratta chief Shahjee, and had always been independent of the Mahomedan conquerors. Perhaps in no part of India had the old Hindoo institutions been preserved in greater purity. Every village possessed its temple, with a lofty gateway of massive structure, and an establishment of Brahmins, musicians, and Nautch girls, whose province it was to dance before the idols on festive occasions. It was the very centre of bigotry. Nowhere did the practice of Suttee flourish so luxuriantly. The capital of Tanjore contained a palace and a temple, and in the latter—a fine specimen of a pyramidal pagoda—was a gigantic black

granite figure of a bull, sixteen feet in length, and twelve feet in height, to which devout reverence was habitually paid. Contiguous to the province is a series of hilly districts, called Marawas, inhabited by a martial race of people, whose chieftains, the Polygars, had contrived to give some offence to the Rajah of Tanjore. The Rajah attacked the Polygars. The Nawaub of the Carnatic claimed the Polygars as his vassals, and remonstrated with the Rajah. The remonstrance was unheeded. The Nawaub invited the English to co-operate with him ; and, as the Rajah had been backward, during the war with Hyder, in supplying the contingent in money and troops, for which stipulations had been made, a *casus belli* was established. General Smith was entrusted with the command of the British troops sent against Tanjore. Rendezvous was had at Trichinopoly, *en route* to Tanjore, and here the army of the Carnatic, commanded by the Nawaub's son, formed a junction with the British. But the army had scarcely sat down before Tanjore ere the Nawaub's son concluded a treaty with the Rajah, and proceeded to make war on those very Polygars on whose behalf his father had unsheathed the sword. In this second expedition the Madras Government continued to assist the Nawaub, and then, returning to Tanjore, laid siege to the capital (on the ground that the terms of the treaty entered into with the son of the Nawaub had been infringed), stormed it in the heat of the day (September 17th, 1773), took the Rajah and his family prisoners, and transferred the kingdom to the Nawaub.

It is impossible to contemplate this portion of the history of our connection with India with either pride or satisfaction. A principle of gratitude, combined with a policy forced upon us by circumstances beyond our immediate control, appears to have led us into treaties with unscrupulous princes, who perpetually claimed the assistance of our arms in their nefarious proceedings ; thus making us parties to aggressions repugnant to the national sense of honour, and injurious to the national reputation. Much to the credit of the East India Directors, they repudiated

the flagrant breach of justice of which the court authorities had been guilty in attacking Tanjore, and at once removed the president from his office, sending out Lord Pigot, who, twenty years previously, before his elevation to the Irish peerage, had been governor of Madras.

Lord Pigot's first act was to restore the Rajah of Tanjore to his throne and possessions, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Nawaub of the Carnatic and the Madras Council, at the head of which was the troublesome Sir Robert Fletcher, who, having lost his appointment, by countenancing the mutiny of the officers against Lord Clive, was appointed to the command of the Madras army. After the restoration had taken place, claims were sent in by some of the Company's servants, for moneys lent to the Nawaub, on the security of a part of the Tanjore revenues. Lord Pigot disallowed the claims, suspecting a collusion between the principal creditor and the Nawaub, but the Council maintained the integrity of the claims, and serious anarchy was the result. Pigot was firm: equally obstinate were the Council. At length, the latter, having the commander of the forces with them, resorted to the extraordinary step of putting the governor under close arrest, a measure that so deeply affected him, that he died, after eight months' confinement. Much indiguation was expressed by the authorities in England when the news of Lord Pigot's incarceration reached them. They at once voted his restoration, and determined that a rigid inquiry should be instituted into the conduct of his persecutors. This was delayed, however, until their return to England. Four of the council were then prosecuted by the government, and mulcted in fines of 1000*l.* each, a small punishment to "Nabobs" who had borne homeward some of the richest fruits of the pagoda tree.

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## CHAPTER X.

Warren Hastings— Deprives the Nawaub of Moorshedabad of the power of collecting revenue— Cora and Allahabad given to the Nawaub of Oude— Shah Alum, the Great Mogul, enthroned at Delhi— Destruction of the Rohillas— Quarrel between Hastings and his Council— Hastings assailed by Nuncomar— Nuncomar tried for forgery and hanged— Sir Elijah Impey— The Mahrattas— Death of the Peishwa— The English side with Ragoba— Military operations— General Goddard's march— The Mahrattas defeated.

THE year 1772 found the government of Bengal in the hands of Mr. Warren Hastings, a man who had distinguished himself in all his previous employments in the Company's service, by his sagacity, courage, and foresight. He was one of the few who happened to be at Cossimbazar when the great Black Hole tragedy was enacted, and escaped to Fultah, to be afterward rescued by Admiral Watson and Lord Clive. His great talents recommended him for the post of governor, on the resignation of Mr. Carter.

Hastings, on his assumption of the office of Governor of Bengal, found the treasury empty, the directors clamorous for money, the army and civil service in arrears of pay, and the affairs of the country whence the revenues were chiefly drawn indifferently administered. The double government of Bengal, to which allusion has been made in a previous chapter, worked badly. The native minister, who managed the internal affairs of the provinces, on behalf, nominally, of the Nawaub of Bengal, but in reality for the East India Company, was a Mussulman of Persian extraction, corrupt, and, to judge by the results, incapable. The province supplied him with an enormous salary, and the Nawaub with a royal stipend (something like half a million sterling between them), but did not yield a sufficiency to meet the other expenses of the state, and provide a large dividend for the Company. Warren Hastings' first

act was to reform this state of things. He abolished the double government, removing the minister from his place, and transferring the collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, and the exercise of the police duties to the servants of the Company. The Nawaub, however, was permitted to preserve all the external attributes of sovereignty, living in a fine palace at Moorshedabad, surrounded by slaves, sycophants, and the tenants of a harem, and to receive from the revenues a large annual stipend. The change was effected without disturbance. The next political *coup* of Mr. Hastings was the transference of the provinces of Cora and Allahabad to the Nawaub of Oude, for the consideration of half a million of money. Up to this time those fertile provinces had been held by the Great Mogul, Shah Alum—the poor creature whom Clive had restored to the nominal sovereignty of Delhi. Shah Alum had, for a short period, parted with the provinces to the Mahrattas, who had assisted him in acquiring actual possession of the throne of Delhi, in the absence of any active exertions on the part of the English. The Mahrattas stipulated that, in recompense of their having rendered the Emperor this service, he should countenance their invasion and plunder of Rohileund, the rich country of the Rohillas, lying between the Ganges and the Gogra; and when they had glutted their passion for pillage in that beautiful territory, they retired, and left Cora and Allahabad to be occupied by British troops, on the Emperor's account. It may appear singular that the Nawaub of Oude, who was a Viceroy and Vizier (or minister) of the Great Mogul, should become the purchaser of his master's property, but, in truth, he was an independent sovereign, in all but the title. Oude had escaped the ravages of the Mahrattas, who, until the Dooranee monarch defeated them, with terrible slaughter, at Paneeput, near Delhi, in 1761, had stretched their arms to the very heart of the Punjab; but to the westward of Oude, the country was in a dilapidated condition, and it was over the disorganised remnant of the Mogul empire only that Shah Alum ruled.

Covetousness grows by what it feeds on. The easy

acquisition of Cora and Allahabad soon induced the Nawaub, Soojah-u-Dowlah, to cast longing eyes upon the province of Rohilkund. The Rohillas had sought his aid when they were opposed by the Mahrattas, and he had agreed to afford it for the consideration of 300,000l. (thirty lacs of rupees). But although he absolutely withheld the stipulated protection, he, nevertheless, when the Mahrattas quitted the country, claimed the promised subsidy ; and the firm refusal of the Röhilla chief to yield to this abominable exaction furnished the Nawaub with a pretext for war. The Rohillas, however, were a hardy and chivalrous race of Afghans, whom it would have been impossible for the forces of the Nawaub of Oude to subdue single handed. They could at any time muster 80,000 sabres, and their impetuous valour was too much for the "dark, slender, and timid Hindoo." They loved the land of their adoption ; and that which they had brought into a high state of cultivation by their industry and skill, they were vigilant to maintain by their arms. The Nawaub pondered the difficulty of the situation for a time—

"Letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would,'  
Like the poor cat i' the adagè."

At length it occurred to him that, possibly, the English, who were much hampered for money, might be disposed to contribute a quota of troops towards the accomplishment of the object he had at heart. Overtures were made to Warren Hastings. The position of Hastings was perplexing. While, on the one hand, the East India Directors were continually urging economy, the preservation of peace, and the cultivation of a good understanding with the native princes ; they were, on the other, perpetually calling for money. "Give ! give !" was the burthen of every despatch. Hastings found it impossible to reconcile the two injunctions. Left to choose between them, he adopted that which, he felt, would be most agreeable to his "honourable masters." In an evil hour, he consented, for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, to lend an English brigade, under Colonel Champion, to co-operate with the Nawaub Vizier's forces

in the invasion of Rohilcund. "The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last." A bloody battle was fought on the 23rd of January, 1774. The Rohillas exhibited the most heroical valour. "Many of their chiefs," writes Leitch Ritchie,\* "as the musketry roared, and the fiery rockets hissed through the air, advanced alone, in a chivalrous spirit, which would have been recorded with admiration by Froissart, and pitched their colours between the two armies, to encourage their men to follow. But all was unavailing :" the deadly fire of the Europeans carried the day ; and the Nawaub, who had held back with "shameful pusillanimity" during the fight, followed, like a jackal after the lion, and devoured the prey. A part of the population were butchered in cold blood ; a part fled from the devoted country—fled, adds Macaulay, "to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honour of their wifes and daughters."

In the history of the progress of the British towards supreme political power in India, there is no spot half so dark and repulsive as this—the conquest of Rohilcund, for the advantage of the Nawaub of Oude. In after years, the celebrated orator Burke made the destruction of the Rohillas the most magnificent topic for his declamation ; but no rhetoric of his could magnify the disgrace which thence accrued to the British name.

October, 1774, witnessed the formal establishment of Warren Hastings as Governor-General of India, aided by a council, consisting of General Clavering, Mr. Philip Francis (the supposed author of the 'Letters of Junius'), Colonel Monson, and Mr. Barwell. The first three came direct from England. Offended, on their arrival, by an apparent want of courtesy on the part of Hastings, in giving them a *saluté* of seventeen guns only from the

\* 'The British World in the East.'

Bombay Government. Hereupon Ragoba was again taken by the hand, and two expeditions were despatched to Poonah to place him in authority, and re-occupy the islands which had been ceded to the English. One of these detachments marched from Calcutta, under Colonel Leslie, who, dying soon afterwards, was succeeded in the command by Colonel Goddard ; the other went from Bombay, and was attended by three commissioners, Colonels Egerton and Cockburn and Mr. Carnac.

In the meanwhile, a French mission had arrived in India, and proceeded to Poonah, to solicit certain commercial privileges on the Malabar coast, and, these being conceded, some of the French officers joined the army of the Mahrattas. The Bombay force met the Mahrattas near Poonah. The military men were for giving battle to them at once ; the commissioners—like unto Aulic councils, Dutch commissioners, and India “politicals” of later times—hampered and controlled the officers, and an immediate retreat was ordered. The Mahrattas followed up the little force, severely harassed it, and forced it into a disgraceful convention at Worgaum. The Bengal detachment was rather more fortunate after the death of Leslie, who had wasted much time on the march. Goddard was a man of judgment and decision. Hearing of the disaster at Worgaum, he altered the direction of his march, and, instead of moving on Poonah, he took a more northerly direction, going into the very heart of the Mahratta country, and forcing his way to Surat. General Goddard’s march of 300 miles in nineteen days, over a rugged country, with scarcely a decent road, is dwelt upon with pride by the military historians. It was one of the brightest achievements of the Indian army. No fewer than 20,000 Mahratta horse had been despatched to intercept Goddard, but he contrived to evade them by the celerity of his movements. He afterwards took Dubhoy and Ahmedabad by storm ; and on the 3rd of April, 1780, defeated Holkar and Scindiali, two confederate Mahratta chieftains, with very little loss. It should be stated that, in the province of Guzerat, a case of disputed succession

to the government had arisen, similar to that which disturbed the Mahratta country. With the same object of territorial gain, the English arms were employed in behalf of the Guicowar (or herdsman), whose ancestors had wrested the state from the feeble government of the Moguls, and declared the sovereignty hereditary.

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## CHAPTER XI.

The War with France in 1778 — Hastings seizes Pondicherry and Mahé — Hyder Ali joins the French — Invades the Carnatic — Colonel Baillie and Sir Hector Munro — Baillie's detachment overwhelmed and made prisoners — Sanguinary conduct of Tippoo Sahib — Characters of Hyder and Tippoo — Succour sent to Madras — Sir Eyre Coote appointed Commander-in-Chief of Bengal — Hyder attacks Vellore and Wandewash — Coote relieves them — The Battle of Porto Novo — Hyder defeated — Vellore saved — The Dutch join the French — War with Tippoo — Disasters of the British.

REVERTING to Bengal, we pass over the story of the wretched quarrels between Hastings and his council, which continued, on various grounds, to interrupt the harmony, without weakening the power, of the government of Bengal. Hastings had great strength of mind, an indomitable resolution, and a high sense of the importance of the interests committed to his charge. He overcame an attempt of General Clavering's to displace him—he wounded Philip Francis in a duel—he refused to quit his seat when the East India Company sent out a Mr. Wheeler to succeed to the government, in virtue of a hasty resignation on the part of Hastings, which he afterwards had revoked. All these matters come more immediately within the province of the biographer than the historian, and nowhere have they been so charmingly illustrated as in the glowing pages of Lord Macaulay. His magnificent essay should be read by every one who would wish to become thoroughly acquainted with the history of India.

It was fortunate for the interests of Great Britain that, in 1778, Warren Hastings still continued to grasp the helm of affairs with an iron hand, for intelligence now reached India that the French had taken advantage of the success of the revolted British colonists in America to assist them with troops and money, and had thus become involved in a war with England. This fact, taken in connection with the visit of the French mission to the Poonah court, afforded ample justification for hostile measures on the part of the Governor-General. The French still retained a few small possessions in India—Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast, and Mahé, on the coast of Malabar. Hastings pounced upon them both. Sir Hector Munro and Admiral Vernon took the former; Colonel Braithwaite, a Madras officer, seized Mahé without firing a shot.

Unfortunately, Mahé was in some measure under the protection of Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. Hyder was already in an angry mood, because Braithwaite, before he left Mahé for Surat (whither he had been directed to march, to join Goddard), had afforded protection to the factory of Tellicherry and a Nair chief—who had fallen under Hyder's displeasure. The capture of Mahé increased his resentment. His troops being officered by Frenchmen, their hostility added fuel to the flame. A league was formed between the Mahrattas and the Nizam; and, in November, 1779, the Nawaub of the Carnatic warned the Madras government of the danger that menaced them. In July, 1780, Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic with an army of one hundred thousand men of all arms, including four hundred Frenchmen, and one hundred pieces of artillery. To meet this force, the English, who had been culpably negligent of warnings, had but six thousand infantry, a few guns, and a hundred horses.

The success of the English, in their previous war with Hyder, had rendered them too confident. They were soon to experience the evil consequences of despising a foe Hyder—fierce, cruel, and implacable, proud of his immense host, and by no means unfamiliar with the art of war—lost no time in plunging into the Carnatic, which he

laid waste in the most barbarous manner. Offering reward for the heads of his enemies, his eyes were soon ravished with the sight of innumerable victims: nothing could quench his thirst for blood. By the 20th of August he was before Arcot, which place he besieged and captured. Uniting a portion of his troops with those of the Nairs on the Malabar coast, he menaced, at one and the same moment, the east and the west of the peninsula. Never were the British possessions in a more critical condition. After some absurd and inexcusable delay, Sir Hector Munro marched from Madras, and directed Colonel Baillie, with about 2000 sepoys and 150 Europeans, to form a junction with him at Congeveram, forty-five miles from Madras. Baillie was at Guntur, 255 miles off. Not less wanting than Munro in decision and promptitude, Baillie delayed his departure until he was further stopped by the swelling of a small river. At length he was within fifteen miles of the main army, when he found himself in presence of an immense force, headed by Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder, who fell upon him with the greatest impetuosity. The contest lasted for several hours: Tippoo was repulsed. But Baillie could move no further; his detachment had been seriously reduced. He despatched messenger after messenger to Munro, imploring him to move forward to his relief, with the whole of the disposable army. Munro contented himself with sending Colonel Fletcher, at the head of a small detachment. Persuaded that the main body would assuredly follow, Baillie moved out of his camp on the 9th of September. On the morning of the 10th, he was confronted with Hyder, at the head of his entire host. Nothing daunted, and believing that, in perfect accordance with the first principles of strategy, Munro would assail Hyder in the rear, Baillie did not hesitate to receive battle. Hyder made his attack with unexampled fury. The sepoys of Baillie's detachment vied with the Europeans in valorous resistance; but Munro came not, and numbers prevailed. The sepoys were annihilated: the Europeans still maintained the combat; they were eager to cut their way through the hordes of Mysoreans. All



detachment induced Sir Hector Munro, who, it seems had got within two miles of the scene of action, to beat a retreat to Madras. Hyder, satisfied for the moment with his sanguinary victory, returned to Arcot, and, resuming the siege, was soon master of the place.

Great distress and consternation filled the hearts of the Supreme Council when the news of Baillie's disaster reached Calcutta. Warren Hastings saw the imminency of the danger to which the Company's possessions in the south of India were exposed, and, with characteristic energy, he proposed to despatch succour, in men and money, to Fort St. George. Coote—the soldier, who, for his services in Clive's time, had been knighted, and appointed Commander-in-Chief in Bengal—was selected by Hastings for this important mission; and, the better to afford him the means of independent action, he was empowered to supersede the Governor of Madras. Coote's name was a tower of strength: the troops had the most profound confidence in his professional skill. True, he had grown old; but years do not operate with an equally destructive influence upon the constitutions of all men. There have been veteran soldiers at seventy, on whom Time has laid his hand more gently than upon others of fifty years of age; and Coote was one of the favoured. He was a great favourite with the native soldiery.

Although Arcot had fallen, Vellore and Wandewash still held out. To relieve these places was Sir Eyre Coote's first object. On his approach, Hyder raised the siege of Wandewash, and, in accordance with the principles of war, Coote would have followed him; but the arrival of a fleet from France, with hostile purposes, suggested to Sir Eyre the advisableness of hastening to Pondicherry, before the perfidious people of the town should have time to arrange for a demonstration in Hyder's favour. His prescience was recompensed. He succeeded in disarming the sepoys they had enlisted, removing their provisions from Carangoolee, and destroying their carriage. Immediately afterwards, he moved off to protect Cuddalore and Trichinopoly, attacking, on his way, the fortified pagoda of Chilumbrum.

He was checked at the pagoda by the Mysore troops, and this success tempted Hyder to give him battle at Porto Novo. Coote's position was very critical. He had but few European troops, and the very existence of the Anglo-Indian empire depended upon the sepoys. They behaved magnificently. Let Malcolm tell the story of the terrible battle, illustrative of the fidelity and daring of the natives :—“Driven to the sea shore, attacked by an enemy exulting in recent success, confident in his numbers, and strong in the terror of his name, every circumstance combined that could dishearten the small body of men on whom the fate of our empire depended ; not a heart shrunk from the trial. Of the European troops it is, of course, superfluous to speak, but all the native battalions appear, from every account of the action, to have been entitled to equal praise on this memorable occasion ; and it is difficult to say, whether they were most distinguished when suffering with a patient courage under a heavy cannonade, when receiving and repulsing the shock of the flower of Hyder's cavalry, or when attacking, in their turn, the troops of the monarch, who, baffled in all his efforts, retreated from the field of anticipated conquest, with the loss of his most celebrated commander, and thousands of his bravest soldiers.” Coote followed up this triumph, on receiving an accession of troops from Bengal, by assailing Hyder three weeks afterwards, at Perambauem, on the very ground where Baillie had been defeated. Hyder was strongly entrenched behind earth works, deep ditches, and watercourses. He was still strong in artillery. Coote forced the entrenchments, after an entire day's fighting, followed Hyder towards Vellore, almost annihilated his cavalry, and then returned, for shelter during the rains, to Madras.

## CHAPTER XII.

Progress of British Laws and Literature, and the Christian Religion in India — The State of English Society — The Missionaries — The Rajah of Benares — Hastings' Extortions — The Nawaub of Oude — Fyzabad — The Begums — The Trial of Warren Hastings.

WHILE “frighted peace” pants, and Tippoo and the English

“Breathe short-winded accents of new broils,”

let us take a survey of the progress that had been made during the ten years following the establishment of the Supreme Council and Supreme Court of Judicature, towards introducing practical improvements in the revenue and judicial systems; cultivating a knowledge of the language and literature of the people of India; improving the tone of European society, and propagating Gospel truth among the heathen.

The possessions of the East India Company, under the immediate rule of the Governor-General and Council, comprehended, on Warren Hastings' accession, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Burdwan, Midnapore, Chittagong, and the twenty-four Pergunnahs. A royal grant had ceded them, and they were managed after the fiscal system in vogue amongst the native princes. Lands were farmed, but on assessments grounded on conjectural estimates. There was no standard of rent, and the strong took advantage of the weak. In 1769, supervisors had been appointed to remedy this state of things: they were authorised to control the native revenue officers, and inquire into the state of the country. It was then discovered that the Nazims (the revenue officers), had exacted what they could from the Zemindars, and great farmers of the revenue, whom they left at liberty to plunder all below; reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their turn, when they (the farmers) were supposed to have enriched themselves with

the spoils of the country. Warren Hastings formed a Board of Revenue in 1772, calling the supervisors Collectors, by which titles they are still known. Lands were let on quinquennial leases to the highest bidders, who sublet them, in their turn. It was a bad system, fruitful of disorder, but, nevertheless, was continued until 1785.

The administration of justice at the Presidency of Bengal, as we have already stated, was in the hands of the Supreme Court of Judicature, established in 1773. But pains were taken by Hastings to graft upon the judicial institutions, established for the Company's territories, the law and practice of the Hindoos and Mahomedans; that their religious prejudices, and the usages of caste founded upon them, might not receive any violent shock from the sudden introduction of a system which recognises no distinction. Among other enactments, he decreed that in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the Shastras with respect to Hindoos, should be invariably attended to; and he directed that Pundits should be appointed to attend the courts, to act as assessors, and to expound the Hindoo law. He established a new court for this purpose, calling it the *Sudder Dewance Adawlut*, and he placed Sir Elijah Impey at its head. We have already seen, however, that in criminal cases, the law of England, in all its purity, prevailed. No considerations of caste, or ancient native usage, were permitted to interfere with the course of justice.

As yet, little progress had been made by the English in acquiring a knowledge of the language and literature of India, and, through them, of the character, habits of thought, and social and religious institutions of the people, without which no administration could be perfect. The laws not immediately passed in the public offices and the houses deputed by the servants of the Company to the more pleasurable and coarse pastimes common to English society of the period. Dancing, riding, hunting, shooting, tennis, billiards, drinking, and duelling, characterised the *white* element. Warren Hastings was himself a

bad example of morality, both in his public acts and private life. “He had been living, for some years, with the wife of a Baron Imhoff; and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond which had long been practically disregarded, the Governor-General had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adulteress, in a style of the utmost magnificence, attended with open display and festal rejoicing. What was to be expected from the body of society, when the head was thus morally diseased? Francis was a hundred-fold worse than Hastings. The latter was weak under a pressure of temptation: he was not disposed to ‘pay homage to virtue,’ by throwing a cloak over his vice; and did not sufficiently consider the bad influence which his conduct was calculated to exercise over society at large. In him, it is true, there was a sad want of principle; but in Francis an evil principle was ever at work. His vices were all active vices—deliberate, ingenious, laborious. His lust was like his malice, unimpulsive—studious; given to subtle contrivances, demanding the exercise of high intellectual ability. When he addressed himself to the deliberate seduction of Madame Grand, he brought all the mental energy and subtlety of matured manhood to bear upon the unsuspecting virtue of an inexperienced girl of sixteen. Here, indeed, were leaders of society, not only corrupting the morals, but disturbing the peace of the Presidency. The members of council fought duels with each other, and their example had many imitators.” \*

In strong and pleasing contrast with the European “aristocracy” of India, was the conduct of the missionaries. Kiernander, who continued to labour indefatigably, was followed in his useful mission and his endeavour to establish schools, by the English missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward. To the disgrace of the government of the time, be it said, they were treated as low-born demagogues, who might, if let alone, unsettle all our institutions, and

\* Calcutta Review.

tir up the people of India to rebellion and revolt: they were not permitted to remain within the British territories, but were obliged to seek a residence at the Danish settlement of Serampore, 20 miles from Calcutta. Yet, in spite of all obstacles, they became the pioneers of an accurate knowledge of India—its products and resources, the language, customs and superstitions of the people—which is now the stable basis of our rule. With no advantages of academic training, graduates of no college, doctors of no science, with their habits formed on the usages of ordinary artisanship, they came out to India to tell the people of the mission accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth at Jerusalem; and, without their seeking it, they were led into various courses of research, that issued in their being the agents in diffusing a greater amount of accurate knowledge regarding the people, their languages, habits, and religion, than had ever been accessible to European students before. Singularly enough while the Missionaries saw that the only education that could be given to the people of India, with any hope of their enlightenment, would be one founded upon the Gospēl, Warren Hastings sanctioned the establishment of a Madrissa, or Mahomedan College, in which the only languages to be taught were Arabic and Persian, and the only subjects to be studied, those already contained in Arabic and Persian works,—science, not as recast and recreated in European moulds, but as elaborated in the mind of an antiquated and effete orientalism.

The political immorality of Warren Hastings was now to receive another illustration, not so cruel and extensive in its operation as the spoliation of Rohilcund, but sufficiently marking his public profligacy to afford ground for the severest reprobation. The pecuniary necessities of the East India Company were very great, and Hastings was the person to whom the corporate body continued to look to supply them. Trade was not in itself sufficiently lucrative. There were still some native princes between Calcutta and Delhi who would admit of squeezing. Hastings determined to perform the office in person. He proceeded on a tour to the Upper Provinces. His first

of rapacious fiscal officers, chiefly Mahomedans, had fallen into great disorder. Even a brigade of British troops, which the government had required him to maintain at his own cost, was unable either to preserve the peace or secure the realization of the revenue. He thought that an interview with the Governor-General would help him out of his difficulty. The Governor-General, on the other hand, was bent on wringing more money or more territory out of his impoverished hands. The Nawaub met Hastings at Chunar. His condition was quite apparent to Hastings: yet money was essential. What was to be done? The Nawaub's mother, and the mother of the previous Nawaub, were rich Begums (princesses), owning jaghires or estates at Fyzabad, from the proceeds of which they maintained themselves in splendour, and the families of preceding Nawaubs in comfort. On this property Hastings laid his ruthless hand, and Asoph-u-Dowlah connived at the appropriation. The pretext was that the Begums had incited the people of Oude to insurrection in Cheyte Singh's behalf, and had employed their power to disturb the Nawaub's administration. Beside the jaghires, the Begums possessed much treasure, which had been bequeathed them by Soojah-u-Dowlah. This was in the charge of two eunuchs, a class of persons whom the princes of India employ to protect the ladies of the harem, and act as the ministers of the princesses. To extort the treasure, Hastings caused the two confidants to be arrested and starved in durance until the treasure was given up to his agent at Lucknow. Twelve hundred thousand pounds was added to the coffers of the East India Company by this atrocious plunder—the last act of political rapacity Hastings had an opportunity of performing. He returned to England, in the spring of 1785, to be arraigned before Parliament for his crimes. His trial, which lasted for seven years, afforded opportunity for oratorical display to the most brilliant party men of the day: it was a subject of national interest—it fixed attention for the moment upon the romance as well as the reality of Indian life—and it reduced its object to poverty. But the acquittal of Hastings ensured him recompense. The Com-

pany bestowed upon him a pension of 4000*l.* a year; the House of Commons, in after years, rose and uncovered to receive him; George IV., as Prince Regent, paid him personal attention, and his statues and busts grace many a niche in public places of importance. Among the receptacles of the effigies of great men in which his bust appears is the beautiful Crystal Palace, at Sydenham; and his career has been sketched by the just and graceful hand of the late Samuel Phillips, in the 'Portrait Gallery,' which serves the visitor as a guide.

"In his 33rd year his reign ceased. What had it been? With a resolution which no dangers and no difficulties could daunt; with a genius for resource, fertile in proportion to the demand; with a sagacity that disabled opposition and commanded success; with a self-possession calm in every tempest—he had taken in hand a set of provinces imperilled by their disorganization and by terrible enemies; and he left a constructed and fortified empire. What had been his means? Good and ill. He had stood between the rapacious rulers and the feeble ruled, and was alike beloved by both. A civilian, he held the heart and allegiance of the army. But in India he had used Indian powers. He had not amassed money corruptly, but he corrupted with it. He had extorted treasure, he had broken faith, he had authorised and instigated cruelty, he had violated justice to shed guilty blood, he had held the ordinary moral laws suspended, for the safety and the aggrandisement of the dominion committed to his sway."

Two years before the departure of Warren Hastings from India a great alteration had been made in the Home administration of the affairs of India. Mr. Pitt, after several contests had taken place among his predecessors as to the best method of regulating the government of the country, brought in a bill which created a Board of Control. The Board consisted of six members of the Privy Council, chosen by the Crown, with power to check, superintend, and control, all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any wise related to the civil and military government or revenues of the territories

United Company in the East Indies. The Presidency of the Board was vested in Mr. Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, and a system of double government was, till recently, established.

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### CHAPTER XIII.

Lord Cornwallis becomes Governor-General — His Conduct towards the Nawaub of Oude and the Nizam — New War with Tippoo — Seringapatam threatened — Character of Tippoo — His Tiger Passion — The Mahratta Confederacy — Lord Cornwallis attacks Tippoo, and compels him to cede a portion of his Dominions to the English — Cornwallis's Revenue System — Sir John Shore's Administration — The State of Oude.

THE successor to Warren Hastings was Lord Cornwallis, a nobleman whose talent and virtues cast lustre upon the judgment of the minister who made choice of him for the responsible trust of Governor-General. He had led troops in America, and had been much distinguished in diplomatic transactions. Armed with larger power than his predecessor possessed, he began his career in India under great advantages to a man of genius and strong will. Hitherto, the assent of the Supreme Council had been essential to the validity of the Governor-General's acts: Cornwallis was made independent of his colleagues. In 1786, a bill passed which empowered the governors of the different presidencies, in extraordinary cases, to act without the concurrence of the Council, "inasmuch as that said power would tend greatly to the strength and security of the British possessions in India, and give energy, vigour, and dispatch to the measures and proceedings of the executive government."

Following the custom of the natives, who too often suppose that the acts of a government are the results of individual despotism rather than the fruits of a settled principle of administration, the Nawaub of Oude, soon

after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, addressed an appeal to him against the expense to which he was subjected in maintaining brigades of the Company's troops. Lord Cornwallis took a review of the finances and necessities of the Nawaub, and in less than a year after his arrival released him from certain balances still due, declared him in all respects independent within his own territory, and promised that he should not be charged with more than 500,000*l.* per annum for the protection of his territory; but he refused to withdraw the troops. Indeed, their presence was the only security for the peace of the country. The next measure of the Governor-General was to obtain from the Nizam of the Deccan a cession of the Guntoor Circar on terms of advantage to both sides. The alliance of the Nizam was at all times desirable, and on his own part there was a feeling that the protection of the English was not to be despised.

But the jealous spirit of Tippoo was alarmed by the good understanding subsisting between the Nizam and the English, and he sought a pretext for reviving the quarrel which had, only four or five years previously, been adjusted. The excuse was at hand. The Rajah of Cherika was in debt to the English, and, imitating the custom of too many persons in private life, he stubbornly resisted paying until he could not pay—protesting against the injustice of the claim. As security for the debt, the English held the customs of the port of Tellicherry. Tippoo entered into the quarrel, siding with the Rajah. Negotiations ensued, which had a fruitless termination, and Tippoo blockaded Tellicherry. At the same time he invaded Travancore, the Rajah of which province was one of the best allies of the English. It is the misfortune of despotic sovereigns, who win their way to fame by the sword, that they must constantly keep their troops employed, otherwise they stand a chance of seeing the very means they had used to achieve distinction turned against themselves. Tippoo, the son of an adventurer, was one of the slaves to the sword. The thousands of warriors at his disposal were perpetually athirst for conquest and plunder. The “cancers

of a calm world and a long peace," they would not convert their swords into ploughshares, but passed their inglorious leisure in whetting their weapons for renewed strife.

Travancore was defended by a line of works equal in extent to the famous lines of Torres Vedras, from behind which our Wellington, with a small force, in 1810, defied the legions of France, led by the redoubtable Massena. Tippoo, instead of attempting to force the lines, turned their right flank, and managed to introduce his troops within the intrenchments; but before he could approach the gates of Travancore he was repulsed with considerable loss. A second attempt, in May of the following year (1790), was more successful. Tippoo effected an entrance into the town, razed the lines, and desolated the neighbouring country: in retaliation, columns of Madras troops, under General Meadows, invaded Coimbatore; and a Bombay force, under General Abercrombie, assailed Tippoo's territory on the Malabar coast. The operations, for an entire season, were desultory, as Tippoo refused a general engagement; but the advantage, even in minor actions, was ever on the side of the English. Early in 1791, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army in person, and moved against Tippoo's fortress of Bangalore. In the defence of this place no fewer than 1000 Mysoreans fell. The loss on the side of the besiegers was likewise considerable: indeed, the conquest was scarcely, at the moment, compensated by the benefits of possession; for Lord Cornwallis's provisions and stores fell short, his draught cattle either perished of hunger or were so reduced by famine as to be entirely useless, and the force contributed by his ally, the Nizam, proved utterly valueless. But Cornwallis was made of the dauntless stuff which sets difficulties at nought: his enterprises were greatest when his position was most desperate. In the midst of his helplessness, he resolved upon moving towards Tippoo's capital of Seringapatam, and laying siege to it. The effort, however, was fruitless. After a battle had been won on the march, the Governor-General found himself compelled, by the increasing sickness among his troops, and the state

of his carriage cattle, to abandon his heavy stores and battering-trains ; and the season being now too far advanced for fresh operations, he could not resume his movement towards Seringapatam, even when joined by a body of Mahrattas with provisions and draught cattle.

Of all the enemies the British have had to encounter in the East, none ever proved so formidable as Tippoo Sahib, or Tippoo Sultan, as he latterly caused himself to be designated. The son of a daring freebooter, he had, by the mere exertion of physical force, contrived to become the master of an immense tract in the southern part of India, and erected it into a sovereignty perfectly independent of the Emperor of Delhi, to whom he ceased to acknowledge a vassalage. He assumed the title of Padishah, hitherto only used by the Emperor, and his name was substituted for that of Shah Alum, in all the public prayers in the mosques. His capital, Seringapatam, was situated on an island formed by two branches of the river Cauvery, which, separating at the western extremity of the town, re-united at a distance of three miles only. Rocky and barren, the island had been selected by Hyder Ali, on account of the facility with which it might be fortified. Tippoo built a fortress upon it, and within its walls he raised a palace, which he believed to be impregnable. Mysore was covered with rocky hills, on which fortresses were constructed, and it was in these Droogs that the chiefs, like the German barons of old, defied the law. Each Droog was the focus of an intolerable tyranny over the people of the places beneath. Yet was Mysore extensively cultivated and generally prosperous, even under the obstructive Mahomedan system of rule, which places the interest of the governor above that of the governed. Tippoo's reign was less fortunate than that of his father, Hyder Ali, for he aimed at too many reforms, and wrought them after a violent and unpopular fashion. He disregarded all the established usages of the country ; he changed the laws, the coinage, and even the chronology of Mysore ; he affected a passion for literature and science, established foundries, and cast guns and other descriptions of firearms.

A tiger by name (Tippoo signifies tiger), he had an extraordinary passion for ferocious animals, of whose nature he largely partook. His crest was a tiger; the head and striped skin of the tiger decorated his throne; the wooden image of the savage beast, *passant*, covered with gold, supported the costly and clumsy paraphernalia; golden tigers' heads, with eyeballs of brilliants, rubies, and emeralds, embellished the chair of state; images of tigers devouring Englishmen,\* adorned his cannon, and formed the subject of the rude paintings upon his walls; and in his palace-yard were cages filled with tigers, which were sometimes let loose upon unfortunate prisoners, for the diversion of the sovereign prince and his courtiers.

Before the establishment of Mussulman supremacy in Mysore, the country had been governed by a Hindoo Rajah. The Hindoos are still the most numerous part of the population; and, although, at the first invasion of their territory, the Mahomedans had cast down their temples, insulted their images, and forcibly converted thousands of them to Islamism, they were now living contented under a yoke they could not throw off. Their rajah's life had been spared, but he was always under Tippoo's eye, as he had been under that of Hyder. The rules of caste (and there were twenty-seven sub-divisions of the great castes in Mysore) were respected, and peaceful trade and manufacture flourished, in spite of the monopolising spirit of Tippoo, who filled his warehouses with large stores of goods, which the merchants were obliged to buy at his own prices, and prohibited all commerce with the English, or with any of the states in alliance with them.

If Tippoo had contented himself with a compact territory, and ceased to endeavour to extend his empire, his sway might have continued uninterrupted, but he was ever encroaching upon the territories of his neighbours,

\* In the museum of the East India House is a rude effigy of a tiger eating an Englishman; within the figure is some clumsy machinery, which, set in motion, raises and depresses the tiger's head, and emits a sound between a cat's mew and a child's cry. It was intended to represent the shrieks of the tortured soldier—sweet music to Tippoo's ear!

the Mahrattas, who were equally bent upon aggrandisement. At length the several chiefs formed a confederacy to crush him.

The power of the Mahrattas had greatly extended between 1772 and 1790. Their confederation was headed by Madhajee Scindia, who ruled Malwa, in Central India, and controlled Upper India (Delhi, Agra, and the Doab), in the name of the Mogul, Shah Alum, whose army he commanded ; Mulhar Rāo Holkar, who fixed his capital at Indore ; the Guicowar of Baroda and Ragojee Bhoslah, of Nagpore. The Peishwah still held Poonah. These chiefs, when a common danger made it their interest to act together, would, for so long, permit their personal enmities and political jealousies to lie dormant ; but no sooner was the danger removed by the discomfiture and weakness of their opponents than their union was at an end, and each began recklessly to act for himself, and seek his own aggrandisement at all hazards, overrunning every country and district which was unable to resist his arms. Scindia was the most warlike and powerful of the four chiefs. He had rescued the Emperor of Delhi from the hands of the Moguls, who had quarrelled for the succession to the office of Vizier, and by one of whom, Ismael Beg, the eyes of the old Emperor had been mercilessly torn out. Aware of the importance of the European system of warfare to his military success, Scindia had adopted a body of regular infantry, disciplined and commanded by European officers, chiefly Frenchmen. De Boigne was at the head of the disciplined force. His skill raised the power of Madhajee Scindia to an enormous height. Such was the terror of his name, after he had led the Mahratta armies for a few years, that the instructions of the chieftains to their followers, who held fortresses, was, "Resist the Mahrattas, but if De Boigne appears, yield."

The English viewed the progress of the Mahratta power in Upper India with alarm ; but, whilst their hands were so full in the South-West, they could not be diverted to its extinction. Besides, the aid of the Mahrattas was indispensable, in the first instance, to the suppression of Tippoo

Sultan, with whom our forces could not cope single-handed.

In the cold season of 1791, Lord Cornwallis resumed operations, and, without difficulty or loss, captured Savindroog, Ootadroog, and other hill fortresses, which commanded the passes into Mysore. In fulfilment of his original project, he then pushed on for Seringapatam, and, although he had not yet been joined by a detachment of 2000 men, which he expected from the Malabar coast, under General Abercrombie, he did not hesitate to approach the place. He surprised Tippoo in his entrenched camp, under cover of the night, attacked him vigorously, and drove him and a part of his army into the city. The rest of Tippoo's troops deserted. Among them were some thousands of the natives of Coorg. The State of Coorg—a mass of rugged forest country, lying between Tippoo's territories and his possessions on the Malabar coast—had been forcibly annexed by Tippoo, under circumstances of great cruelty, that he might have a clear road to the coast. The people whom he had compelled to enlist under his banner, accordingly rejoiced at the opportunity of returning to their forest haunts, and their deposed rajah having escaped from the fortress in which he had been confined, they placed him again at their head. This event favoured the advance of General Abercrombie. The Rajah was too happy to ensure English countenance and protection, by affording the troops a passage through his recovered dominions. Abercrombie joined Lord Cornwallis a few days after the battle. Tippoo, seeing that he had little chance of continuing the contest with success, now opened negotiations, which ended in his ceding half his dominions to the allies, the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and the English. Our own share comprehended a considerable portion of the Malabar coast, including the state of Calicut. Beside these cessions, Tippoo assented to the independence of Coorg, and paid down a sum equivalent to four millions sterling. His two sons were sent to the British camp as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. This took place in February, 1792; but it was not until the 19th

of the March following that Tippoo ratified his engagement. Lord Cornwallis then returned to Madras.

While Cornwallis was yet prosecuting his military labours, he directed his attention to the revenue system of the country. On his arrival in India, he had found, as he expected, great disorder prevailing in the revenue department, arising out of the want of accurate knowledge of the country. The application of the feudal system of Europe was his remedy. He proposed to settle the proprietorship of the land permanently, and the plan he drew up became law in 1793. It declared the zemindars, talookdars, (*Talook*, a district within a Zemindaree—*Talookdar* the manager of the estate), &c. with whom the settlement was made, actual proprietors of the soil, holding their lands from the East India Company, and paying the land-tax as a species of rent. No matter how greatly the productiveness of the land might increase, still the zemindar was to carry the same amount of revenue to the office of the collector. This *permanent settlement* as it is called, is in existence to this day, in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares, and in certain tracts of land in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The zemindar may, under its operation, "lease out the land as he pleases in large or small holdings; may make what amount of money he can, directly or indirectly for the immediate cultivation; but so long as he pays the fixed amount of assessment (*jummia*) punctually to the government, he and his descendants remain at the fixed rate, continually in possession."\* In the opinion of many public writers and servants of the Company, the revenue settlement has been a deplorable failure. By some it has been called "an unfortunate project, which showed utter ignorance of the peculiar tenure of land in India, brought ruin on the zemindars, and inflicted severe injury on the ryots or cultivators of the soil." Others denounce it as originating in a want of knowledge of the resources of India, and a due ascertainment of the *Ryots*—cultivators, not exactly labourers, but small farmers—of the different

\* Kaye's Administration of the East India Company.

classes of landowners and occupants. The conversion of tax-gatherers into proprietors was alleged to be fatal to the rights of the real proprietary body, namely, the village zemindars, the cultivating zemindars, the village proprietors, &c. Lord Cornwallis's Indian fame suffered severe damage from historians, statists, and political economists, for the measure was regarded as entirely his own; but Mr. Kaye, who has placed on record his admiration of Lord Cornwallis as a good man and a consummate statesman, defended his memory on every point. He has shown that Cornwallis did not originate the scheme: it was hatched in the brains of consummate revenue officers of the highest reputation—was suggested to the Governor-General before he left England to assume the rule of India—and was afterwards confirmed and ratified by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Charles Grant. Moreover, Sir John Malcolm, in his journeys through India, bore testimony to the useful results of the permanent settlement, in the clearance of jungle, and the reclamation of waste land. Deserts and wildernesses had, under its operation, become fertile plains.

Equally questionable with the utility and importance of his revenue administration, were the measures adopted by Lord Cornwallis for the improvement of the police system of the country. He deprived the landholders of the authority they possessed in matters of police, and which they exercised with relentless tyranny; but he substituted for it a system so weak and ineffectual, that the people of the provinces comprehended in his measure were exposed to the greatest oppressions, not only from the disbanded followers of the zemindars, but from the corrupt myrmidons of the police, who had superseded them.

But with all the faults of his administration—and they were at the worst mere errors of judgment, where correct judgment was very difficult—Lord Cornwallis was admired and beloved by all classes in India, and his departure was regarded as a calamity. His justice, his chivalry, his benevolence, and his integrity, earned for him the affection alike of natives and Europeans. He quitted Madras, in October, 1793, and was succeeded in the government by

Sir John Shore, a revenue officer of remarkable ability, who had accompanied Cornwallis to India and had imbued him with prepossessions in favour of the fiscal settlement which we have explained; with this difference, that Shore was always for a decennial settlement, because it afforded periodical opportunities for revision, and would have operated at once as a check upon, and encouragement to the zemindars.

Sir John Shore's administration was of a very peaceable character. His natural disposition and his views of sound policy combined to ensure a continuance of tranquillity. But he was not without his temptation to earn an earldom by plunging into a war. The Nizam and the Mahrattas were exceedingly jealous of each other. Madhajee Scindiah dying, the Nizam took advantage of the confusion which a disputed succession invariably created, and invaded the Mahratta territories; and, as it had been alleged that the Mahrattas were to receive aid from Tippoo, the Nizam asked for British assistance. There were several British battalions in his territories, and he wished to employ them. Sir John Shore, however, refused to participate in any way in the strife. The English were allied to the Nizam only for the purpose of protecting him from Tippoo and other enemies: they were not to be the cat's-paws of his own aggressions. The Nizam, nevertheless, went to war, and was beaten by the Mahrattas. A convention of a mortifying character was forced upon him. In revenge for the indifference of the English, he dismissed the British battalions and officered his own army with Frenchmen. M. Raymond, who had served much in India in the French ranks, was entrusted with the training of his troops.

Oude gave Shore some trouble, as it had done his predecessors; but he settled affairs in that quarter peaceably and unostentatiously. The country was suffering under the effects of a double government: the political and military rule was in the hands of the Company; the domestic administration of the country rested with the Nawab-Vizier. "Disorder of every kind ran riot over the whole length and breadth of the land. Never were the

evils of misrule more horribly apparent; never were the vices of an indolent and rapacious government productive of a greater sum of misery. The extravagance and profligacy of the court were written in hideous characters on the desolated face of the country." Justice was not dispensed; the people were ground to the dust, for the sake of revenue; cruelty and extortion everywhere prevailed. The Court was sumptuous and profligate—the people poor and wretched. To remedy this state of things, Sir John Shore went to Lucknow, and persuaded the Nawaub-Vizier, to accept the services of a wise and trustworthy Mahommedan, who was deservedly in the Governor-General's confidence, as his minister. Asoph-u-Dowlah, acceded to the suggestion, and, at the same time, consented to an increase of the subsidy he was paying to the Company. Soon afterwards, the Nawaub died, bequeathing the throne of Oude to one Vizier Ali, his reputed son. Saadut Ali, the brother, and next of kin of the late Nawaub, issued from his retirement at Benares, and claimed the throne, on the ground that Vizier Ali was not the son of the late Nawaub, either legitimate or illegitimate, but "a spurious bantling, the child of a menial servant, without one single drop of royal blood to enoble him." Sir John Shore diligently investigated the several claims, and decided for Saadut Ali, at whose investiture with the sovereign authority he assisted. Vizier Ali was removed to Benares, that he might be out of the way of mischief.

For his services as Governor-General, Sir John Shore was raised to the peerage, under the title of Lord Teignmouth, and when he quitted India, to be succeeded by Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, the inhabitants of Calcutta presented him with an address, in which they paid him the rare compliment—rare at least in those days—of saying that "aided by the light of a superior understanding and a long experience of the affairs of India," he had made "justice, moderation, and an inflexible integrity, the invariable guides of his conduct.\*"

\* Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth, by his son.

## CHAPTER XIV.

War with Republican France — Implication of Tippoo — Renewed War with Tippoo — The Siege of Seringapatam — Death of Tippoo — The Occupation of Mysore — Tanjore and Surat added to the Dominions of the British — The Carnatic, under a nominal Native Sovereignty, also becomes British Territory — The Affairs of Oude — The Murder of the English Resident — Doab and Rohilkund, Azimghur and Goruckpore, taken from the Nawaub, and added to the British Dominions — The Afghan Monarch checked in a Plan of Invasion by Captain Malcolm's Mission to Persia — Lord Mornington's Civil Policy — His Grandeur and Extravagance — The Court of Directors disapprove his Proceedings — He Resigns — The Mahratta Chiefs combine for Aggressive Purposes — The Governor-General remains at his Post, and plans Campaigns under Generals Lake and Wellesley to defeat them — Their operations entirely successful — Lord Cornwallis returns to India, and replaces Lord Wellesley, late Mornington — The British Sepoy — Mutiny at Vellore — Death of Lord Cornwallis.

WHEN Lord Mornington arrived in India, we were in the very thick of the war with Republican France and Holland. Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, had seized the Dutch possessions in the East. The Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, &c., had fallen into our hands. But the French had no place of any consequence (excepting Mauritius) in the Eastern Seas, and as we were not strong enough to wrest it from them, the island became the focus of intrigue for reviving the misunderstandings between Tippoo and the English. The Sultan of Mysore holding extravagant opinions of the power of the French, had sent ambassadors to Mauritius to solicit the co-operation of the Republicans in an attempt to expel the English from Southern India. The government of Mauritius invited the inhabitants, by public proclamation, to yield to the wishes of the Sultan, who, of course, had made very liberal offers. The proclamation fell into the

hands of Lord Mornington. Tippoo affected to deny its authenticity; but the evidence of his culpability was too clear. Lord Mornington determined upon the immediate destruction of his power. There was no time to lose: Napoleon had invaded Egypt with evident designs upon India. An army of 30,000 men, admirably equipped, and ably commanded, took the field early in 1799. General Harris directed the operations, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, commanded the 33rd Regiment and the Contingent, supplied by the Nizam in virtue of the treaty with Lord Cornwallis. With characteristic energy, Tippoo prepared for resistance. He was disappointed of the expected aid from Mauritius; not more than one hundred men joined his standard. Anxious to prevent any accession of troops to the Madras force from the Bombay side, his first stratagem was to fall upon a detachment approaching through Coorg, under Colonel Montresor. He encountered and attacked it at Sedaseer, but reinforcements of Europeans coming up, under the command of General Stuart, Tippoo fell back upon his capital. From this he almost immediately emerged to give battle to the advancing columns at Malavelly. Here he was signally defeated. He then made his final stand at Seringapatam. General Harris selected the western side of the city for attack, to facilitate his junction with the Bombay forces, and to receive supplies from that side. On the 5th of April the British army was before the place, the outposts which occupied groves were driven in, and the siege operations regularly commenced. By the 4th of May a breach was practicable. Sir David Baird led the storming columns, and in seven minutes the British flag floated from the summit of the breach. The resistance in the town and along the ramparts was fierce and determined; thousands fell before the British bayonets. Tippoo defended himself beneath the gate of his own palace, and gallantly fell, sword in hand, three musket balls having penetrated his head and body. Thus was the kingdom of Mysore effectually conquered, and added by Lord Mornington to the territories of the East India Company; thereby securing



DEATH OF TIPPOO SULTAN AT SERINGAPATAM.

GEORGE SISON SC



to them the whole sea coast of Southern India, with a free communication across the country, and an immense accession of territory.

In saying that Mysore was, by the death of Tippoo Sultan, added to the territories of the East India Company, we must not be understood to imply that they were taken over unreservedly, and subjected to the British system of judicial and fiscal administration in all its departments. That would have been a responsibility which the Marquis Wellesley (for to that rank and title had Lord Mornington been elevated) was neither prepared nor disposed to incur. Absolute annexation had not become a part of the bold policy of the Company. They believed that it was more in accordance with the feelings of the people of newly-conquered provinces that the nominal rule should be continued in the hands of the native princes, and they were sagacious enough to perceive that the immediate introduction of a new system of national government would not only be unpopular and distasteful, but attended with considerable embarrassment. Mysore, therefore, was continued as an independent sovereignty, and, as there were serious objections to the elevation of any of Tippoo's sons to the *mus-nud*, Lord Wellesley restored the old Hindoo Rajah to his place, with authority to administer the affairs of the country after a manner acceptable to his subjects; *but* the military defence of the country was retained by the British for an annual subsidy of 280,000*l.*, with a reserved right on their part of interfering in the internal management of the state whenever they saw fit, as well as of increasing the subsidy, in cases of necessity. This was an ingenious method of preserving a hold upon the territory, and of maintaining a body of troops, always available for general purposes of warfare at no expense to the Company, in whose hands, however, the military patronage continued to reside.

In other localities the death of a native sovereign, leaving behind an infant son, and an adult competitor for the throne, was always a ground for the interference of the English, either volunteered or yielded on solicitation. Two or three incidents of this description occurred during

the government of the Marquis Wellesley. Tanjore, in Southern, and Surat, in Western India, both became through such occurrences part of the British territory. A Rajah in the former case, and a Nawaub in the latter, chosen by the Governor-General's agents, were placed in *nominal* authority over the respective states on annual stipends, while the military and civil administration of the country was delivered entirely into the hands of the East India Company.

Subsequently to these acquisitions, the Carnatic became British property. The Nawaub of Arcot, as he was generally called, had failed to fulfil his engagements in respect to the payment of the annual tribute, and while he was asking and obtaining from the government the amplest indulgence, it was discovered that he had been treasonably corresponding with Tippoo Sahib, whose cause he secretly espoused. Lord Wellesley, in 1801, took the subject in hand, and finding that the administration of the Nawaub had been marked by the greatest oppression, and that the people of the Carnatic were in a deplorable condition, his lordship stripped the Nawaub of every remnant of power, allowing him to retain the *name* of a *prince*, and the *authority* of a *subject*.

Oude, always a source of trouble and anxiety to a Governor-General, became, in its turn, a subject for the interference of Lord Wellesley, and the introduction of his favourite scheme of subsidising British troops in supercession of the rabble retainers of a native prince. Vizier Ali, who, after the decision in favour of Saadut Ali, had gone to reside at Benares, was a man of a violent and restless disposition. Of low origin, and crafty of purpose, he immediately began a course of intrigue to obtain possession of the musnud. The Governor-General deemed it prudent, on ascertaining this fact, to order his removal to Calcutta. He resisted the order in most unbecoming terms. Mr. Cherry, the English resident, called at his residence to expostulate with him upon his recusancy. Vizier Ali, enraged beyond control, drew his sword upon Mr. Cherry. the attendants instantly cut down the unfortunate gentleman,

and likewise the civil servants who had accompanied him to the interview. One only escaped assassination. Giving the alarm, a body of horse was soon upon the spot. The commotion was great. Vizier Ali fled. Saadut Ali, the Nawaub, instead of vigorously pursuing him, pleaded the undisciplined and unreliable state of his troops. A numerous body of adventurers assembled around the fugitive assassin, and assumed a formidable front. Lord Wellesley gave orders for their instant capture. They retreated, but were so hotly pursued by the government troops, that at length Vizier Ali took refuge with a Rajpoot chief, who gave him up to the British authorities.

The conduct of Saadut Ali in this matter furnished a sufficient plea for calling upon him to disband his troops. He at first assented, and then resorted to subterfuges and excuses. Lord Wellesley was firm. The Nawaub, seeking to gain time, trifled with the government. He alleged that his revenues could not support the British brigades, by whom it was intended to displace his rabble force, nor pay the subsidy for which he had contracted. A cession of territory was demanded, as the alternative of his refusal to yield to the first demands. Saadut Ali further pleaded that the presence of British troops would obliterate his authority in his own dominions, and reduce him to the condition of a pageant king. Lord Wellesley was inexorable. Mr. Henry Wellesley (afterwards Lord Cowley) was appointed to carry out the transfer of the provinces, and thus the Doab and Rohilkund, Azimghur and Goruckpore, equivalent in their revenue to one million three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, were added to the territories of the Company.

There was another motive beyond the punishment of the Nawaub for the substitution of British troops in Oude: India was at this time threatened with an invasion by the Affghan monarch, Zamaun Shah, who had already obtained signal advantages over the Sikhs who inhabited the Punjaub. It had thus become necessary to accumulate a trustworthy force in the upper provinces, under the immediate orders of the Governor-General. But Lord Wellesley, whose

mind was equally formed to grasp the most extensive subject in all its magnificence and entirely, or to pry into the details of the most complicated political mechanism, did not stop short with these measures. He knew that it would be easier to divert Zamaun Shah from his purpose by the presence of danger to his own dominions than arrest his career if he persevered in the contemplated invasion. Accordingly, the Governor-General dispatched Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm to Persia to persuade the King into a treaty, which bound him to renew an attack he had previously commenced upon Khorassan, the dominions of Zamaun Shah, and to prevent the establishment of the French, who were at this time in Egypt, in any part of Persia. Malcolm completely succeeded in his mission. He alarmed the Persian Court by dwelling upon the democratical tendencies, and the regicidal propensities of the French, and impressed upon the Shah in Shah (the King of Kings) the danger in which his own territories stood from any aggrandisement of the power of the Afghan monarch. A treaty was entered into which accomplished the objects immediately in view, and gave commercial advantages to the English in the Persian Gulf and ports of Persia and Arabia.

While these arrangements were progressing, the Governor-General despatched a force to Egypt, to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercromby in expelling the French; but, before it could arrive, the country had been evacuated by Napoleon's troops. The boldness, however, of Lord Wellesley's proceedings sufficiently demonstrated the comprehensiveness of his views, and marvellously increased the moral power of the British government in India.

Nor was it only in the prosecution of a scheme for aggrandising, consolidating, and protecting the possessions of the English in India that the genius of the Marquis Wellesley was apparent. Grandeur characterised all the forms of his statesmanship. Thus, in considering the means of improving the Civil Service, and rendering it more capable of the duties of internal government, he founded the College of Fort William, and appointed the

most learned and accomplished men in India to the professorships ; he would not encourage government measures for the propagation of Christianity, but he employed missionaries to educate natives and translate the Scriptures into the languages of the East. Under his auspices the magnificent palace of the Governor-General in Calcutta arose, at an expense of 150,000*l.* The salaries which he assigned to the principal officers of government were upon a princely scale, for he believed that it was necessary to enable them to keep up a splendid appearance. Pageantry dazzled the natives, and was, he thought, regarded by them as an emblem of rule. In a word, Wellesley imitated the Emperor Akbar very closely in the combination of the lustrous and the solid.

But the expenditure of the Marquis was highly displeasing to the home government ; and some of his general measures were equally disapproved. The Court revoked many of his appointments, refused to sanction his scheme for the College of Fort William, and ordered that the army be reduced, and the salaries of officials retrenched. In fact, they exhibited in nearly all things an entire want of confidence in his wisdom. He had certainly added immensely to their territorial revenue, and enforced the prestige of their name, but they objected that he lavished with one hand the wealth accumulated with the other.

Disgusted with the expressions of displeasure with which his administration had been visited, the Marquis Wellesley resigned his office in January, 1802, and intimated his purpose of quitting India at the end of the year. Events, however, were about to occur, which compelled him to remain at his post.

It appears that in his desire to protect the dominions of the Mahrattas, by the system of subsidising forces, Lord Wellesley had opened negotiations with Bajee Rao, the Peishwa of Poonah, who was the nominal head of the Mahratta chieftains. The real sovereignty was, however, held by Scindia, who regarded the Peishwa as little more than a vassal. Similarly circumstanced with the Peishwa, was Holkar, whose family had asserted their independence

seventy-five years previously. This chief dying, Scindia interfered to arrange the succession. The individual who was excluded by his choice—one Jesswaut Raô Holkar—flew to arms, and offered battle to Scindia, near Indore, the capital of the Holkars. Scindia defeated Jesswaut Raô Holkar; but in the following year Holkar re-appeared in greater force, and discomfited the united forces of Scindia and the Peishwa, the latter having been compelled to adopt Scindia's views. The Peishwa fled to the Malabar coast, and ultimately to Bassein, where he assented to a treaty with the British resident, which compelled him to maintain six battalions of sepoys in his territories, and to cede 250,000*l.* (twenty-five lacs of rupees annually) for their support. Holkar treated his flight as a virtual resignation of the sovereignty of Poonah, and, in conjunction with other chiefs, placed a new ruler upon the *musnud*. But the treaty which the Peishwa had entered into with the British, gave him a claim to their interference, and to this end armies were put in motion. One of them in the north was commanded by General Lake, the troops in the south were led by General Wellesley. It should be observed that the Governor-General had been anxious to gain the amicable consent of Scindia to the arrangements entered into with the Peishwa, and to induce him to become a party to the defensive alliance, whilst Holkar was informed of the treaty and requested to allow its practical fulfilment. But Scindia's answers were evasive: Holkar's demands exorbitant. Ultimately, they resolved to resist the treaty of Bassein by force. The patience of the Governor-General had been wearied out: the crisis called forth his energies. General Lake received instructions to conquer the whole of the portion of Scindia's dominions, which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna; to destroy the force commanded by Perron, a French soldier, who had long been in Scindia's service, and to whom the defence of the district had been assigned; to extend the Company's frontier to the Jumna, including the cities of Delhi and Agra with a chain of posts, sufficient for the protection of the navigation of the river, on the right

bank of the Jumna; to annex Bundelcund; to obtain possession of the person of Shah Alum, the blind Mogul king, and his nominal authority as Mogul, held by Perron, and to secure the extension of the subsidising military system to the minor Mahratta states. To General Wellesley was entrusted the arduous task of defeating Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, thereby protecting the Company's territories and the governments of the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Guikowar, and of conquering the extensive province of Cuttack from the Rajah of Berar, and the port of Baroach from Scindia, with its contiguous district on the coast of Guzerat. These were the mighty objects to which the war, so madly entered upon by the combined chiefs, was to be made subservient; such the ends which the mind of Wellesley saw might be effected when the sword was once drawn! Well has it been said, that "Thus is it ever with genius: the seeming obstructions that start up in its path are but made the stepping-stones to aims which it had scarcely dared to hope, previously, might some time be effected."

To narrate the course of the campaigns which now ensued would demand a separate volume, and prove but the repetition of a story with which the readers of military history are familiar. General Wellesley (afterwards the mighty Duke of Wellington), defeated Scindia, in the great battle of Assaye, triumphed over him at Argaum, and captured the fortresses of Asseerghur and Gowilghur. General Lake earned a peerage by routing, in succession, the armies of Scindia and of Holkar, at the battles of Laswarrie, Deeg, and Delhi, taking the fortress of Allyghur and the city of Delhi, releasing the old king, and adding enormously to the British territories and influence. Errors were committed—for what is war but a tissue of errors? There were unsuccessful assaults on stubborn fortresses, and disastrous retreats in the worst seasons;\* there were rash attacks at inopportune moments and reverses from over

\* The retreat of Col. Monson from before Holkar, who was in great force, is one of the most unfortunate occurrences described in military history.

confidence; but the result was, upon the whole, creditable to the policy which dictated and to the army which achieved the conquests. Unhappily, the return of the Marquis Wellesley to England, and the appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis as his successor, pledged to reverse his acts, in obedience to the orders of the Court of Directors, lost to the Company, for a time, some of the advantages which had been acquired. But after-events, which will be referred to in due order, caused a renewal of the contest with the Mahrattas, and rendered them and their successors cordial friends and useful allies, though with limited possessions.

In the great campaigns of Lake and Wellesley, as in those of their predecessors, who subdued Hyder and Tipoo, the fidelity of the Sepoy had been severely tested. He had been exposed to great temptations, subjected to heavy privations, and his discipline was taxed under military reverses of no ordinary character. His honourable passage through the ordeal has been ascribed to the affection, amounting to enthusiasm, with which his leaders inspired him. To Lord Lake (or *Lik*, as the natives called him) the Sepoys were romantically attached. He had all the soldierlike qualities which especially win the love of common men. Brave, chivalrous, handsome in his person, affable, considerate to the troops, in whom he manifested the most perfect confidence, he commanded at once their admiration and devotion. It is recorded that, when pinched with hunger, the Sepoys disdained to murmur, because they saw Lord Lake contenting himself with a handful of parched grain. Colonel Ochterlony, to whom they gave, from a curious habit of inverting names, the appellation of Lony Ochter, was a man of the same mould, and almost shared their love with Lake. Ochterlony was Lake's right hand, and both the general and the colonel respected the caste prejudices of their soldiers.

Time and usage have, in some degree, abated the strictness of caste, and the force of religious prejudices; but at the period of which we treat (1806), the Sepoys were peculiarly tenacious of their practices, and jealous of any immo-

vation which indicated even a remote intention to touch their religion. The old officers knew this, and rather humoured the fancies of the men than attempted to interfere with them officially. Unhappily, Sir John Cradock, who had been sent out to command the Madras army, was of a different mind. Brought up in the powder and pigtail school,\* and wedded to the starch system introduced by Sir David Dundas, who had all the passion of a Frederick the Great for rigid formality and pipe-clay precision, his eye was grievously offended at what he called the unsoldier-like appearance of the Sepoys. He could not tolerate the loose, easy costume, the semispherical basket-cap, or the oiled and curled moustache of the Sepoy; nor could he comprehend why the men of the Hindoo castes should mark their foreheads with ashes. In an evil hour, he decreed a uniformity of costume, adapting the native to the appearance of the European. He devised a pattern for a new hat, forbade the use of ear-rings, and the marks which were significant of sectarian distinctions, ordered that the beards and moustaches be trimmed to a standard model, and introduced a particular undress-jacket, black leather stocks, and a new turnscrew. The hat was the most obnoxious of the innovations. The Sepoys said it looked like a European *topee*, and was designed to make them ridiculous in the eyes of their countrymen, who were accustomed to identify the hat with the religion of the wearer. It was, they said, a covert attempt at conversion; and the idea was strengthened by the appearance of the turnscrew, the top of which resembled a cross. After some deliberation the men refused to make up the turban. Expostulation was vain. Numbers were tried by court-martial, and punished for their obstinacy, and the Madras government, at the head of which was Lord William

\* The military officers and soldiers at the close of the last century powdered and pomatumed their hair, and wore long tails. The custom had been introduced by Frederick the Second, the King of Prussia, and all the other armies of Europe for a long time followed the practices of his adoption, because they admired his tactics and military genius which had triumphed in war.

Bentinck, supported Sir John Cradock in his determination to persevere in his reforms. An uneasy feeling took possession of the army—severity, of course, became the order of the day. Its results were soon made apparent.

Within the fortress of Vellore, 88 miles from Madras, resided the sons and daughters of the late Tippoo Sahib, brooding over the fallen fortunes of their house. The garrison of the fortress consisted of four companies of the 69th Foot, six companies of one native regiment, and an entire battalion of another. Instigated, it is supposed, by the followers of the princes, the 1500 Sepoys, smarting under Cradock's decrees, and detesting the Feringees, who had destroyed the Mahomedan rule in the south of India, conspired to annihilate the 300 European soldiers. Under cover of the night of the 10th of July, 1806, they carried out their design. Assembling in due order, commanded by their native officers, they marched down to the European barracks, and while the men and officers slept they commenced a murderous fusillade in at the windows and the doors. They surrounded the dwellings of the officers, and shot them down as they issued forth. In like manner they assassinated all the European conductors (subordinate officers in the Ordnance and Commissariat Departments) and other residents, countenanced and assisted by the followers of Tippoo's sons. Many English officers, and nearly 200 soldiers were killed or wounded in this savage onslaught. Fortunately, the 19th Light Dragoons were at Arcot, a few miles off. The garrison contrived to send intelligence of the mutiny. In brief space, Colonel Gillespie, arrived with a squadron; they burst open the gates, rushed into the fortress, and, with the aid of the survivors of the 69th Foot, put to the sword upwards of four hundred of the Sepoys. The remainder were captured, imprisoned, and tried. All, in some form or other, were subjected to punishment.

The investigation, which the whole dreadful affair subsequently underwent, gave rise to a great many conjectures and allegations, and was followed by numerous and voluminous orders. Officers were directed to study the lan-

guages and mix more with the men, and to conciliate the native commissioned officers ; commanding officers were enjoined to vigilance and gentleness, and the restrictions on missionary efforts to spread the Gospel in India were augmented. Sir John Cradock was removed from his command, and Lord W. Bentinck, who had supported him in his reforms, without weighing the possible consequences, was also recalled.

The government of the Marquis Cornwallis was of short duration. Advanced in life, fretted by the anxieties of his resumed charge, and exhausted by a journey he had undertaken to the upper provinces, he died at Ghazeepore, near Benares, and was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Bengal establishment, who had been a secretary to government, and held other subordinate posts of a respectable character. He was not a man of an enlarged mind ; but by scrupulously following out the injunctions of the Court of Directors, in respect to a parsimonious expenditure of the public money, and a judicious collection of the revenue, he managed to give satisfaction to his honourable masters at the expense of the regard of the military servants of the Company, whose pay and allowances he curtailed when he dismissed several regular regiments.

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## CHAPTER XV.

The Mahratta Chiefs suffer from not adopting the Subsidised Principle — The Affairs of Travancore — Lord Minto becomes Governor-General — The Nairs — The Pindarees — Ameer Khan, their Leader, overthrown — Lord Minto's excellent Policy — Mauritius taken from the French, and Batavia from the Dutch — Dacoitee, or Gang Robbery — Its Suppression — The Police of India — Oude — A Mutiny in the Madras Army among the Officers — Lord Moira succeeds Lord Minto — The East India Company's Charter renewed — War with the Pindarees and Nepaulese — The Mahratta Powers destroyed — The Civil Government of Lord Hastings (late Moira).

It is so much easier to knock down a fabric than to build one up, that the successors of the Marquis Wellesley experienced much difficulty in establishing the *status quo ante*. It is not going too far to aver, that their success — when they did succeed — only served to illustrate the excellence of the policy they were employed to overthrow Holkar and Scindia, by refusing to be parties to the subsidised system, were soon doomed to see their territories become a prey to marauders. Unable, in a state of peace, to maintain the armies with which they had conquered parts of Upper India, and waged ineffectual war with the English, they disbanded their troops, and then, in their dire necessity, lived by contributions on the people. The Peishwa, acting upon a different principle to the other Mahrattas, was enabled, through the aid of the British battalions, to keep down insurrection in his dominions. Lord Minto succeeded Sir George Barlow in the government of India in 1807, and Sir George was soothed in his disappointment by the gift of the governorship of Madras.

At the outset of his career, Lord Minto was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Travancore. The Dewan, or chief minister of the Rajah there, had refused to allow the dismissal of some troops, or to pay the amount of the

Rajah's subsidy. A force was despatched to procure the fulfilment of the treaty. The Dewan levied soldiers among the Nairs, a military tribe, and offered resistance. Some months were passed in hostile operations. The Nairs fought with obstinacy and courage, but they ultimately gave way before British discipline, and our troops occupied the country. The campaign was remarkable for the good soldiership of the 12th and 69th Regiments, and the corps of sepoys engaged, and for the cruelties practised by the Nairs, who murdered in cold blood all Europeans who fell into their hands, whether prisoners of war or unsuspecting travellers.

Scarcely was the blaze of war extinguished in one direction, ere it burst forth in another. Lord Minto found the upper country in a most disturbed state, from the ravages of the Mahrattas and a class of freebooters who had assisted them in their wars, and who were called Pindarees. These were brigands, in the worst sense of the term, making war in the most rapacious, bloody, and perfidious manner. Murder, torture, and violence distinguished their incursions upon the possessions of the principal communities of Central India. No classes were safe from them—even the hill fortresses of Rajpootana afforded little protection against their daring attacks. They were accustomed to form themselves into distinct bodies, having separate leaders, but all combining, upon occasion, for the common object of devastation. Mounted on fleet horses, they would perform the most extraordinary marches, and have been known, in twenty-four hours, to put 130 miles between themselves and their pursuers. To the Anglo-Indian poets and romance writers, the exploits of the Pindaree have always been a fruitful, if not a pleasant theme. Dr. Hutchinson enchanting his readers by giving to the Pindaree some of the personal attributes of the Paynim of old.

“The steed paws the ground, with a snort and a neigh,  
The Pindaree has mounted and hied him away;  
He has braced on his shield, and his sword by his side,  
And forth he has gone on a foray to ride.

His turban is twisted and wreath'd round his brow,  
 Its colour is red as his blood in its glow ;  
 From his shoulder, behind him, his carbine is slung,  
 And light o'er his saddle his long spear is hung."

A gay sketch, calculated to convey a favourable impression of the gallantry of the ruffian. But mark the sequel. After describing the assembly of a band of these picturesque desperadoes, and their sweeping gallop over jungles, plains, and streams, we come to their operations.—

" The river is forded, the frontier is passed,  
 And they reach the lone village, by midnight, at last.  
 Would you gather its fate? in the darkness of night  
 The forests around it are red in its light.

Its dwellers have fled, in the wild woods to roam,  
 All roofless and black is the place of their home ;  
 And their daughters, dishonoured, are weeping in vain :  
 Nor will boast of their pride and their scorning again."

The leader of these fierce mounted-robbers, in 1809, was one Ameer Khan, whose name among the villagers of Upper India, furnished for many years the theme of ballads as numerous, as poetical, and as true, as the stories of Robin Hood. This Ameer Khan had seized upon part of the territories of Holkar, on the insanity of Jesswunt Raô being declared, and his success induced him to threaten the dominions of the Rajah of Berar. This awakened Lord Minto's alarm: he apprehended that Ameer Khan would gradually approach the Nizam's territories, and form a scheme with that doubtful prince for the overthrow of the British power and the establishment of Mahomedan supremacy. To check this purpose in the bud, the assistance of the British was proffered to the Rajah of Berar. It was accepted, and Ameer Khan felt himself compelled to retire beyond the frontier after a single action, in which he was defeated by the Nagpore troops, unaided by the English.

Lord Minto, who was a man of great sagacity, and admirable temper, conscientious and unostentatious, went to India with the purpose of governing peacefully and pro-

moting the internal welfare of the empire ; but, like many distinguished men who succeeded him, he was doomed to find that a perfect state of tranquillity in India was incompatible with the relative state of the native possessions, the designs of other powers, and the misunderstandings prevailing in Europe. The best-intentioned Governors-General have had their most commendable purposes thwarted from one or other of the above causes. Hence, Lord Minto's attention was continually diverted from his plans of administration, to settle questions which arose after his arrival, and were not contemplated at the period of his appointment. He was obliged to despatch a mission to Persia, to counteract the efforts which the French were making to establish relations with the Shah, inimical to English interests ; he likewise sent an ambassador to Cabul, to form an alliance with Shah Soojah, with the same view of checkmating French intrigue—for, be it remembered, Napoleon had never relinquished his declared design of invading India, and dispossessing the English. The state of the province of Bundelcund called for the interference of Lord Minto. The possessions of various petty rajahs were invaded by freebooters and adventurers, whom it was found necessary to expel by main force. The policy of the predecessors of the Governor-General had been to avoid interfering in the affairs of the native tribes, but the common safety demanded a departure from so reserved a system. The suppression of lawless and turbulent bodies became a positive and urgent duty. The effect was admirable. Submitting to a yoke which they could not shake off, thousands of people, who had lived by plunder and violence, became orderly and obedient, and devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits. In 1809, Lord Minto was obliged to despatch an expedition to the Persian Gulf, to suppress the piracies of the Joasmees, and secure safe commerce in the Gulf. The same year found the Governor-General engaged in measures for the capture of Mauritius, which then went by the title of the Isle of France.

Notwithstanding the presence of a powerful naval armament in the Indian ocean, armed vessels, issuing from the

and so formidable are they in their numbers, their combination, and their influence with the local police, that the greater number of their operations escape with impunity. Their object being simply plunder, they avoid the perpetration of murder or violence when the unfortunate objects of their nefarious visits voluntarily surrender their property, or disclose its hidden places ; and they will even give notice of their coming, that the houses may be evacuated, and the robbery perpetrated in quiet. Nevertheless, torture and assassination have often been resorted to, when resistance has been offered or discovery apprehended.\*

To crush this enormous social evil was an object worthy of the government, and Lord Minto addressed himself to it with characteristic energy and ability. The police was in a very inefficient state. Corrupt, feeble, ill-paid, and far removed from European official surveillance, it was more a curse than a protection to the villages. At one time its duties were entirely performed under the auspices of the zemindars, who were held responsible for the peace and security of the several districts. This responsibility had, however, been removed from them, and the consequences were fatal. New plans, comprehending a complete reform of the judicial establishments, were now devised ; but the magnitude of the questions involved prevented the introduction of any perfect system during Lord Minto's rule. He was obliged to be content with partial remedies for the suppression of Dacoitee—so partial, indeed, that to this hour the crime is rife in Lower Bengal, and appears to baffle all the exertions of the authorities.

Of course the condition of Oude was a trouble to Lord Minto. The worst condition of tyranny—the oppression of the humbler orders—marked the whole character of an administration in which the sovereign surrendered himself to sensual indulgence, and the ministers and subordinate officers were allowed to revel in their cupidity. But Lord

\* For very interesting details respecting Dacoitee, see Wilson's *India, Kay's Administration of the East India Company, Parliamentary Papers of 1813, &c.*

Minto was determined to respect the letter of treaties, and to avoid interference with native states when practicable. He therefore suffered the gangrene, which was eating up one of the finest provinces in the world, to remain untouched, albeit the neighbouring territories of the East India Company were suffering from the facilities of escape given to the perpetrators of crime, and from the irruptions of the disorderly people of the Nawaub's dominions.

The incident of Lord Minto's government, however, which occasioned him for a time the greatest alarm and anxiety, was a mutiny of a remarkably unique and dangerous character, which had broken out in the Madras army. The government, acting under the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, had abolished the allowance which officers commanding regiments had been in the habit of receiving for the camp equipage of their several corps. The Commander-in-Chief had been influenced in his recommendation of the measure by Colonel Munro, the Quartermaster-General, who hinted that the grant of the same allowances in peace and war, for the equipment of the native corps, made it the interest of the commanding officers that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field-service, and therefore furnished strong inducements to them to neglect their most important duties. The commanding officers fired at this, and called upon General Macdowall, then Commander-in-Chief, to try Colonel Munro by court-martial. The general placed the colonel under arrest. Sir George Barlow, the Madras governor, ordered his release. A conflict of authority thus arose, which, placing the army in an antagonistic attitude towards the higher authorities, produced a series of angry remonstrances on the one side, and numerous arrests and dismissals on the other. Ultimately, some of the officers seized Seringapatam, and there, supported by a body of sepoys, bade defiance to the government. Royal troops were sent to besiege them. A crisis had arrived : matters wore a very serious aspect ; each party was obstinate. In this perilous state of affairs, Lord Minto hastened to Madras, and, by his firm and conciliatory measures, brought back the officers to their allegiance. The whole

affair might have been prevented if Barlow had not been a most despotic governor. Brought up in the school of Lord Wellesley, whose imperious rule had been long accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioning submission, Sir George entertained exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him. Hence, the slightest opposition was viewed in the gravest light, and condign punishment was rarely preceded by temperate remonstrance. This severity naturally provoked resistance, and a dangerous mutiny was the result.

The year (1813) which witnessed the departure of Lord Minto, and the accession of Lord Moira to the office of Governor-General, was memorable for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter for a further period of twenty years. On the occasion of the expiry of the charter, it had been customary for Parliament to go minutely into an investigation of the system pursued by the East India Company during its tenure of power; and the press, to a certain extent, paved the way to inquiry by discussion of the most prominent measures of the India government. But the public were indifferent to the general course of the Company's administration. It had no share in the profits of the Company, no lands in India, few relatives provided for, no means of determining the actual interest of England in her Indian empire. The Peninsular War, and the operations of Napoleon in Russia and Germany, had prominent claims upon its attention. Commercial men, however, were jealous of the Company's monopoly of the trade; they wished for a share of the produce of the country, and a larger opening for home manufactures. Innumerable pamphlets were put in circulation, advocating the opening the trade to India, the admission of Europeans to hold lands in India, the freedom of the press, and, in fact, a general system of colonisation, supported by the spread of the Gospel. To all these arguments, the friends of the existing system replied—by counter pamphlets, and in the Houses of Lords and Commons—that the expectation of an extension of the trade, by rendering it free, to India, was a delusion; the natives, it was argued, had few wants,

and would not purchase European commodities. The opening the country to the ingress of Englishmen was looked upon with horror: it was urged that the poorer classes could not labour in such a climate, and the more educated and better conditioned would only disturb the peace of the country, unsettle the minds of the natives, and endanger the government! As for a free press, the native mind was not ripe for it, and the general discussion of the acts of authority would set society by the ears. The preaching the Gospel to the natives, under the authority of government, would raise a commotion from one end of the empire to the other. Such were the arguments of the supporters of the Company's monopoly.

The upshot of the discussion was, that the trade with India was thrown open; but the Company were allowed a continuance of the monopoly of the trade to China. In all other respects, the system of government remained intact.

The government of Lord Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, was warlike from necessity. He was a soldier, it is true, and had distinguished himself in the field; but soldier-governors, familiar with war, are, generally, the most disposed to amicable measures. They have witnessed the horrors attendant upon the conflict of armies, and are naturally anxious to spare a peaceable community the infliction of such a calamity. The chief aim of Lord Hastings in India was local improvement—his unavoidable occupation, incessant field operations. The non-interference system had begun to tell upon the country. The Mahrattas and Pindarees, interpreting abstinence into fear, and restless under the treaties, mingled intrigue with incursions, and compelled the government to take up arms. Nor were they the only enemies who braved Lord Hastings. The Ghoorkas of Nepaul descended into the provinces at the southern base of their mountain range, and committed many outrages in Lord Minto's time. They had taken forcible possession of lands, and refused to give them up, claiming them as a right. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the disputed question, but the

Nepaulese showed no desire to relinquish their hold upon the property they had acquired. Nay, when the troops retired during the rainy season, the Ghurkas murdered the civil officers left in charge of the district. War to the knife was declared. Money was borrowed from the young Nawaub of Oude, who had recently succeeded to the musnud, and an army was sent into the hills.

For two years—from 1814 to 1816—the contest was carried on in the mountains of Nepaul. It was a species of warfare to which the English had not been accustomed: their generals were, with few exceptions, incompetent, and the enemy was at once daring and skilful. Growing experience and unlimited resources aided the English, and a change of commanders altered the aspect of affairs. General Martindell had been beaten back: General Marley fled from his camp; General Wood wasted a campaign in idleness. General Ochterlony and Colonel Gardner retrieved our ill-fortune. The former, in spite of the perils and privations to which his troops were exposed, forced the passes, and defeated the whole force of the Ghurkas at Muckwanpore; while Gardner, with a corps of Rehillas, assisted by a force of regulars, under Colonel Nicholls, laid siege to and captured Almorah. The Nepaulese then acceded to the terms formerly proposed to them, and retired, in perpetuity, within the limits prescribed to them.

The two following years, 1817 and 1818, were devoted to the destruction of the Mahratta power and the Pindarees. A combination of the forces of Holkar, Scindia, the Peishwa, and the Rajah of Berar, put Lord Hastings upon his mettle. He took the field in person: but so vast a theatre of war as Central India and the Deccan required a division of forces. Fortunately, Lord Hastings had able generals and civil (diplomatic) officers to assist him. Generals Smith, Hislop, Pritzler, and Doveton; Sir John Malcolm, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir Richard Jenkins, and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, were not ordinary men. Each, in his sphere, proved more than equal to the occasion. The troops, too, were full of ardour, and gave some

very striking proofs of their devotion to the service. A gallant stand made at the village of Corygaum by a single regiment and a small battery, against the whole of the Peishwa's army; a cavalry charge at Seetubaldee; two battles at Kirkee and Mahidpore, contributed greatly to the common result, and elevated the military renown of the British beyond all precedent. Diplomacy also had its field; honesty and straightforward dealing were much more than a match for the crafty and tortuous ways of the rajahs and their ministers. By the spring of 1819 the Mahrattas were subdued, the Pindarees annihilated, and the British rule established throughout India. But the rights of possessors of property in the Mahratta states were respected, and the Mahratta forms of legal procedure preserved.

The remaining period of the rule of the Marquis of Hastings, which extended to the month of January, 1823, was applied to the settlement of a variety of smaller states, the extinction of piracy in the Gulf of Persia (which had revived in 1819), the chastisement of the Rao of Cutch, the arrangement of a treaty with the Amirs of Scinde, and the restoration of tranquillity in Bareilly, where some serious disturbances had taken place. During the whole period of the Marquis's administration, civil improvements had been going on rapidly in India. Numerous bridges were erected, canals, tanks, and aqueducts excavated, lands cleared, roads constructed, churches, chapels, and lighthouses built, surveys effected, and the ecclesiastical establishment placed on a creditable footing. The first Protestant bishop who planted his foot in India, was Dr. Middleton, who signalised his career by founding a college in the vicinity of Calcutta.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

The Press in India — Mr. Buckingham deported — Lord Amherst succeeds the Marquis of Hastings — War with the Burmese — Mutiny among the Sepoys at Barrackpore — Retribution — Lord W. Bentinck Governor-General — His wise and pacific Policy — Sir C. Metcalfe's brief but enlightened rule — Lord Auckland — The Expedition to Affghanistan, and its fearful Results — Lord Ellenborough — The Conquest of Scinde — The affairs of Gwalior — Battles of Punniah and Maharajpore — Lord Ellenborough recalled.

ALTHOUGH the restrictions upon the Indian press were severe during the rule of the Marquis of Hastings, he practically relaxed without repealing them, that public matters might "see the light." Conscious of his own rectitude of purpose, in advance of the people by whom he was surrounded, and aware that the ends of good government would rather be promoted than retarded by honest commentary and free discussion, his lordship did not interfere with Mr. Buckingham, who had started the 'Calcutta Journal' and boldly ventured across the boundaries of stricture established by the regulations. But no sooner had the Marquis of Hastings turned his back upon India, than the old civilian who held the reins of government until the arrival of the Marquis's successor, pounced upon Mr. Buckingham, for some freedom of expression, confiscated his property, and *deported* the unfortunate editor to England.

The affair made much noise in England, and aroused a spirit of opposition in India. A common cause animated the conductors of the public journals, who, instead of being alarmed by the severe steps taken against Mr. Buckingham, or deterred by his fate from the bold utterance of their sentiments, became every day less scrupulous, less timid and reserved. Mr. Buckingham might be likened to the trooper who breaks the solid phalanx, by sacrificing himself, that others might follow without injury. He

opened the way to liberty of opinion. The press, from the date of his enforced departure, acquired additional vigour and increased support.

Earl Amherst succeeded the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General. He found India in a state of profound repose. The country was gradually recovering from the effect of the long wars. In the West, Mr. Elphinstone, aided by a corps of able revenue and judicial officers, was gradually settling the provinces, so long a prey to Mahratta misrule. In the Madras territories, Sir Thomas Munro, a most accomplished officer, was furthering the cause of improvement in every way. Public works, of all kinds, were undertaken, and especially those which tended to increase facility of communication.

But it was not in the destiny of Lord Amherst to enjoy an immunity from campaigns. We had subdued the Continent of India, but we were not free from the aggressions of neighbours. The Burmese were the first to throw down the gauntlet. Occupying an island, which belonged to the British, they attacked and slew a number of sepoys, and, when called upon for satisfaction, declared that if their right to the island (Shapooree, on the coast of Arracan) were not admitted, the King of Ava would invade the British territories. And they were as good as their word. Advancing into the province of Sylhet, the Burmese were ineffectually resisted by a small force, which they nearly destroyed, and they invited the Assam chiefs to throw off their allegiance to the English, and join them. War was declared against the Burmese by Earl Amherst, and an expedition sent, under Sir Archibald Campbell, to chastise them. It was a tough and tedious business. We knew little of the country—nothing of the warlike habits of the people. Its climate was peculiarly noxious, and the difficulty of forcing a passage up the rivers very considerable. The war lasted for two years, and brought out all the best qualities of British troops in vivid colours. Their patience was severely tried—their health destroyed—their privations were great, and their courage was taxed to the uttermost. The Burmese were, nevertheless, humbled, and

compelled to pay four millions of money, to cede the Tenasserim provinces, and several other places on their frontier, and to allow large commercial privileges to the British subjects.

Before the expedition departed from Bengal, another instance of mutiny among the Sepoys occurred. Four regiments refused to proceed to Burmah, on the ground that they ought not to be expected to cross the seas, as they could not cook their food on board ship; they entertained, besides, exaggerated ideas of the physical strength of the Burmese, believed them to be sorcerers, and their country pestiferous. Further, they demanded extra allowance as the price of their going on service. The Government protested against their reasoning, and denied them the allowance. Three regiments gave way,—the fourth (the 47th Bengal N.I.), influenced by designing men, obstinately adhered to their expressed determination not to move. Remonstrance was thrown away upon them—warnings unheeded. There were no officers among them to whom they had been accustomed to look up for counsel and protection. A large augmentation of the army had recently taken place, and the officers had, almost to a man, been promoted in other corps. The ancient bond of affection which knit the Sepoy to the European, and ensured loyalty and fidelity through the long contests with Tippoo, with the Mahrattas, with the Pindarees, and the Nepaulese, had thus been severed. The native soldier stood alone—isolated—a prey to the fanatic and to his own passion for gold.

Driven to the alternative of crushing the mutinous spirit by a terrible example, or submitting to see its authority derided, and the spirit of disaffection diffused, the Government left the affair in the hands of General Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-Chief, an able man, and a humane officer, whose reputation dated from the passage of the Douro, and who had lost an arm in hard service under Wellington. Yielding to the dictates of his judgment, and putting aside those merciful considerations which, in their general results, are often unmerciful, Sir Edward Paget surrounded the 47th Bengal N.I. with European

troops and guns, and when the recusancy of the Sepoys had brought matters to a crisis, he gave the command, and they were shot down without remorse. The lesson was awful, but the empire was saved. The summary execution was called a “massacre” by many ignorant persons in England, who could neither understand nor appreciate the situation; but who shall now say that, but for the timely punishment, the whole army would not have risen in revolt?

Before the war with Burmah had been brought to a close, a misunderstanding arose with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, a state in the North-West of India, protected by a fortress of great strength and magnitude which had withstood the attacks of a British army in the time of General Lord Lake (1805). It appears that the Rajah died, leaving an infant son to succeed him. There was a Resident or Envoy at the Court of Bhurtpore, Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, who, in the name of the British government, had guaranteed the succession of the child. Scarcely, however, had the Rajah died, ere the cousin of the heir-apparent, named Doorjan Saul—having corrupted a great many of the Bhurtpore troops, and gained them over to his interest—murdered the uncle and guardian of the boy, and seized upon the government. Sir David Ochterlony immediately assembled troops to punish and displace him, and published a proclamation calling upon the Jauts, a people of the Bhurtpore country, to arise and protect the interests of their lawful sovereign. The Governor-General of India and his council would not, however, recognise the course adopted by Sir David Ochterlony. They recalled the troops, and rescinded the proclamation. In disgust at this mark of disapprobation, Sir David resigned his appointment, and retired to a neighbouring station, where he died of a broken heart. The Government were soon obliged to adopt the very course they had disapproved. A large force was assembled under Lord Combermere, who had recently come out as Commander-in-Chief, in succession to Sir Edward Paget, and Bhurtpore was besieged. The resistance offered was fierce and determined; but the science and the daring courage of the British troops, very ably led

and commanded, were ultimately triumphant, and the fall of Bhurtpore, on the 18th of January, 1826, added one more leaf to the chaplet of laurels which encircled the brows of the gallant Combermere. The event was very fortunate for the peace of India, because a large portion of the disaffected populace of Delhi had looked forward to the failure of the English, and were prepared to rise in insurrection. The reduction of Bhurtpore extinguished the hostile spirit.

Lord Amherst now resigned his post as Governor-General, and returned to England.

Lord William Bentinck—who had, since his removal from the Government of Madras after the Vellore mutiny, in 1806, been much employed in Spain and Italy, displaying at once the best qualities of the soldier and the diplomatist—was invested with the supreme authority in India, on its relinquishment by Lord Amherst. Impressed with the vital importance of economy in the administration of affairs, in order that the finances of the Company might recover from the effects of the long and frequent wars, Lord William began his career by retrenching part of the allowances the officers of the Bengal army had been receiving, under the denomination of *full batta*, and he extended the pruning shears to other departments of the state. And while he was thus rigorous in abating the personal resources of the servants of Government, he sternly exacted from them a full and efficient performance of the public duty. The army officers particularly felt the severity of his rule, which was by no means rendered the more acceptable by his limitation of their power in the abolition of corporal punishment throughout the native regiments, and his reduction of the privileges and emoluments of commandants. But, away from these objectionable measures—the result, no doubt, of a conscientious discharge of an obnoxious duty—the government of Lord William Bentinck was the most able and beneficial that India had ever enjoyed. During seven years he avoided war, by abstaining from intervention in the affairs of native states. Excepting when the Rajah of Coorg, by a succession of cruelties towards his own people, and an infraction of treaties, accompanied by an insolent

defiance of the British Government, compelled Lord William to dethrone him, there was not a single occasion on which the sword was drawn; for we account as little else than a police operation the putting down some hill people in the district of Colehan. It was to the advancement of the people in intelligence and civilization, the spread of education, and the abolition of the most cruel and disgraceful practices which heathenism sanctioned, and the Government had endured, that Lord William Bentinck bent his mind. Indifferent to the pretexts of the *soi-disant* orthodox party of the Hindoo community, he put an end to the horrible rite of Suttee\* by declaring all participators in the usage, offenders against the criminal law; and he persuaded the rajahs of independent states to follow his example, for he showed that Suttee was a piece of barbarity, neither enjoined by the Hindoo religion, nor prescribed by any social necessity. Infanticide, in like manner, found in Lord W. Bentinck a most determined enemy, and he gave no countenance to idolatrous sacrifices which involved the destruction of human life. With the detestable crime of Thuggism he waged a war of extermination. The Thugs formed a large community, who, under the supposed sanction of a malevolent deity, had followed the practice of assassination by strangling their unsuspecting victims in moments of good fellowship and hospitality.† Like Dacoitee, Thuggism was the more dangerous and deep-rooted, because

\* The *Shastras*, or sacred laws of the Hindoos, prescribe that a woman shall either burn herself with the dead body of her husband, and thus secure beatitude for thirty-five millions of years, or lead a life of chastity and retirement. To serve their own purposes, however, the Brahminical priesthood insisted that if the widow did not destroy herself and give up her property and possessions to the temples, she would be compelled to a life of menial service and degradation. Rather than encounter this, the poor creatures suffered themselves to be led to the funeral pyre; and there, stupified with drugs, were laid on the faggots, while the priests and their attendants kept up a discordant noise with drums and trumpets, that the shrieks might not reach the ears of the assembled multitude.

† The Thugs, or stranglers, were accustomed to travel about the country in small bands; and, joining travellers on the road, would seduce them into conversation or persuade them to sit down and partake of refreshment. While thus unsuspicuously engaged, the travellers were strangled by some of the Thugs, who, coming behind them with a *roomaul*, or

it was alleged to have its warranty in religion, and to be prescribed to its disciples by inveteracy of caste descent. To Colonel Sleeman, a vigilant officer, well acquainted with the natives in all their social relations, and perfectly familiar with their languages, Lord William assigned the task of extirpating the crime, and this most difficult task was admirably performed.

While, however, the Governor-General displayed so uncompromising a hostility to all that was repugnant to divine laws and the best human instincts, he manifested the sincerest interest in the well-being of the natives, and laboured hard to exalt them in their own estimation. Native agency, thitherto disregarded, excepting in the lowest scale of occupation, now became a principle of government. Judicial and magisterial offices were entrusted to respectable Hindoos and Mahomedans, and they were likewise occasionally charged with the collection of the revenue. An acquaintance with the English language was encouraged. Education, indeed, received a great impulse under the government of Lord William Bentinck, who crowned his noble and philanthropic efforts in this respect by establishing a medical college. He had many powerful prejudices to cope with in connection with the introduction of the practice of surgery, and the use of particular items of the pharmacopœia, but they all gave way before the influence and intelligence of the medical officers whom he employed to carry out his benevolent purposes. If to these instances of a disposition to govern liberally, we add that Lord W. Bentinck abolished the *transit* duties, which had always pressed so severely upon the internal traffic of the country ; that he endeavoured to establish a steam communication with England, *via* the Red Sea ; and that he allowed the Indian press the fullest imaginable latitude, although his own acts, in relation to the service, were most ably and severely criticised ;—we have said enough to stamp his government as the most wise and

twisted handkerchief, would suddenly throw it round the necks of the travellers, and in a moment deprive them of life. The Thugs then robbed the murdered men, and interred their bodies.

beneficial of any that India had known since the English set foot in the country.

There was a short interval between the departure of Lord William Bentinck, and the coming of his successor, Lord Auckland, which was filled up by the government of Sir Charles Metcalfe, a civil servant of the Company, who had, from an early period, distinguished himself as a sound politician, and a most benevolent man. The times were favourable for the development of liberal views, for during the *régime* of Lord W. Bentinck, the East India Company's charter had undergone another periodical investigation, and was only renewed under their assent to a more open system of government. The monopoly of the trade to China had been taken out of their hands; the free resort of Europeans to India, with power to hold and cultivate lands, was now sanctioned; the eligibility of the natives for employment in the governmental service, was declared; a lieutenant-governor was appointed to rule over the North-West provinces; and the ecclesiastical establishment had received a great accession of strength. More might have been done to secure the blessings of tranquillity to India, and consolidate the British power; for the evidence of the most experienced officers pointed to many dangerous features in the machinery of local government, especially dwelling upon the composition of the native army. The presence of many high caste Brahmins in the Sepoy regiments—the paucity of European officers present with each corps—the absence of a sufficiency of European regiments—the existence of native artillery—were emphatically denounced as calculated to peril, at some future period, the safety of the empire. But the prophets were slighted, and the improvements in the system of government were limited to the instances we have named. Sir Charles Metcalfe's *interregnum* was, therefore, simply distinguished by the abrogation of the press regulations. He gave to the freedom hitherto tacitly permitted, the sanction of law.

By nature and education a man of peace, Lord Auckland, who succeeded Lord William Bentinck, found the soil prepared after a manner peculiarly acceptable to his tastes.

He had little else to do than follow up the good beginning of his predecessor, and let it be said, that he laboured honestly and zealously to perform his part. Science found in Lord Auckland a zealous patron, and education experienced at his hands the most liberal attention.

Lord Auckland was not permitted to enjoy a tranquil reign for many months. The little state of Gumsoor necessitated a campaign, and the death of the King of Oude, leaving a questionable posterity, rendered interference requisite to settle the succession; which was not arranged without a serious *émeute*, caused by the attempt of the Queen Dowager of Oude to force one of the supposed sons of the late King upon the *musnud*.

Nothing else occurred, during the Auckland *régime*, to disturb the internal tranquillity of India; but the foreign policy of the Home Ministry of Great Britain put the resources of the government to a severe test in preparing an expedition to Affghanistan. The reports of travellers, who had visited Cabul, some two or three years previously, had awakened a suspicion that Russia was intriguing to open a way to India by establishing Persian influence in Affghanistan. This belief received a sort of confirmation in the attempt of the Persians to take the town of Herat, which lies on the high road between Persia and Cabul, and is called the "Key to India." To check the Persians in this endeavour became an object of the British government, and, as that could not be very easily accomplished from the West, the government of India was authorised to send an army from the East.

It happened that there was residing in the British Indian territory a fugitive Affghan monarch, named Shah Soojah, who had lost his throne, in the midst of revolutions and intrigues, and had become a pensioner of the English. As the Affghan sovereign *de facto*, Dost Mahomed Khan, was supposed, or alleged to be, an instrument in the hands of the Russians, the British Government conceived the notable idea of replacing Shah Soojah upon the throne, by force of arms. Twenty-five thousand troops were assembled on the banks of the Sutlej, in November, 1838. In the mean-

while, the Persians raised the siege of Herat, and retired. By July, 1839, the frontier of Afghanistan had been passed, and the fortress of Ghuznee fell to an assault of British troops. Candahar and Cabul were speedily occupied, after a slight and ineffectual resistance, and Dost Mahomed Khan fled to the mountains, whence he subsequently emerged, to surrender himself a prisoner—in which capacity he was sent to Calcutta. For three years the British troops remained in Afghanistan, endeavouring to reconcile the inhabitants to the new order of things. The political officers were active, and the troops put down every little isolated movement on the part of the tribes who maintained an independence. So confident, indeed, had Lord Auckland been made that the Afghans had become wedded to the rule of Shah Soojah, that he gradually withdrew the British force, until it had been reduced to one European regiment, one or two Sepoy corps, a detachment of artillery, and a weak regiment of native cavalry. But though the surface of things was smooth, a dangerous volcano smouldered below. The Afghans, and the mountain-tribes in their vicinity, watched their opportunity. To keep the communication with India open through Scinde and the Punjab, the Khyberries and others had at first been subsidised. Believing in the perfect tranquillity of the country, the Government, in an evil hour, discontinued the subsidy. The winter of 1841 approached; the snows covered the mountains and the plains; the British force was weak, and indifferently commanded. Suddenly the Afghans arose, and blockaded Cabul, Candahar, and Ghuznee, and all the lesser fortresses. Massacres in, or miraculous escapes from, the smaller places became the order of the day. The Government was alarmed, reinforcements were impossible, in the then state of the country. All that could be done was, to hold the places until the opening of the season. Meanwhile, the envoy at Cabul, Sir W. McNaghten, sought an interview with the Prince Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, the displaced monarch. At that interview, the envoy and some of his officers were treacherously assassinated. Consternation

seized upon the authorities at Cabul. The Affghans pressed them closer. Provisions fell short. Councils were divided. The general in command was feeble-minded and in ill-health. A capitulation was entered into: the garrisons were directed to march back to India, in the midst of the snows, and safe conduct was assured them. As they entered the passes, encumbered with followers, the treachery of the enemy became apparent. The mountain tops were crowded with musketeers, the defiles were blocked up with stones and trees: escape was impossible. Day by day the hapless force moved on, its numbers every hour diminishing, from cold and the fire of the enemy; and on the fourth or fifth day a vigorous attack was made upon them, and, with the exception of one hundred and twenty, who became prisoners, thirteen thousand soldiers and camp followers were massacred in the Khoord Cabul passes.

This dire calamity created a profound sensation, not only in India, but throughout Europe. The policy which dictated the despatch of a force to Affghanistan, in the first instance, was vehemently condemned; and the folly of believing in the peaceable disposition of the Affghans bitterly ridiculed. But the maintenance of the prestige of the British rule in India was indispensable to the safety of the empire, and the rescue of the prisoners in the hands of the traitorous Akbar Khan was due at once to humanity and to the honour of our arms. Lord Auckland, however, at first merely directed the immediate formation of an army, under the command of General Pollock, of the artillery—a sagacious and experienced officer—for the purpose of relieving the detachments still in Affghanistan, and to abandon the country. Candahar had not fallen. It was held by Major-General Nott, even after Ghuznee and Cabul had capitulated. Jellalabad, a fortified town, midway between Peshawur and Cabul, was likewise in the occupation of a British Brigade, commanded by Major-General Sale. It was arranged that Nott should retreat by the Bolan Pass, and Pollock move forward to relieve Sale.

Before the plan could be carried out, Lord Auckland retired from the government of India, and was replaced by

Lord Ellenborough. The first impulse of Lord Ellenborough was the withdrawal of the armies of Generals Pollock and Nott without striking a blow. One universal feeling of indignation arose upon the intimation of this decision. His lordship thought better of it. Some weeks later he gave a discretion to the generals, to act upon the dictates of their own judgment. They decided for an advance upon the Afghan capital. From that moment, Lord Ellenborough threw all his energies into the cause, forwarding troops and supplies, and establishing a *corps de reserve* on the Sutlej. Pollock experienced opposition in the passes, but it was overthrown by the gallantry of the 9th and 31st Regiments. Nott, with the 40th and 41st Regiments, and 5,000 Sepoys, cleared the way by defeating the Afghans in front of Candahar. The junction was effected at Cabul. The great bazaar of the city and all the fortifications were destroyed; the prisoners, among whom were Lady Sale and Lady McNaughten, were rescued. He, at Jellalabad, effected his own release by a gallant sortie, and the combined forces returned to India, through the Punjab. They were received with great pomp as they crossed the Sutlej, and the triumph of 1842 effaced the mortification of the reverses of 1841.

Immediately before the commencement of operations in Afghanistan, a body of British troops had been sent to occupy Kurrachee, a port in Scinde, near the mouth of the river Indus, and a treaty was entered into with the Ameers of Scinde, which bound them to afford assistance in the prosecution of our views. The treaty, however, was not observed, the money agreed to be paid by the Ameers was not forthcoming, and Sir C. Napier, then commanding in Scinde, who was employed to investigate their conduct, found sufficient evidence of their traitorous intrigues with Persia and Russia during the expedition. Sir C. Napier and Major Outram, the Resident at Hyderabad, used every endeavour to induce the Ameers to make amends for the past, and to enter upon a new treaty, which should assign certain strips of territory, on the banks of the Indus, as indemnification to the British Government. This treat-

they resisted. With an overwhelming force, the Beloochees, the warlike tribes of Scinde, attacked the Residency, and compelled Major Outram to fly. But they were afterwards met in force by Sir C. Napier, at Meeanee, on the banks of the river Fullalee. A terrific battle ensued. The Beloochees numbered 22,000 ; the British troops, of all arms, did not approach one-ninth part of that strength. Sir C. Napier, nevertheless, assailed the enemy, who had posted themselves in the dry bed of the river Fullalee, and, after a fierce struggle, the Beloochees were utterly routed, and Scinde became a British province, of which Sir C. Napier was appointed governor.

The conquest of Scinde became the subject of much angry discussion and correspondence—of violent personal altercations and public denunciations. Sir C. Napier, supported by Lord Ellenborough, was at issue with Major Outram. The Court of Directors refused to recognise Sir Charles's claim to an eighth of the prize property captured at Hyderabad, and Lord Ellenborough himself fell into great disgrace with the Court. Several books have been published upon the subject of the conquest of Scinde, vindicating Sir Charles Napier and the Governor-General ; but, where violence and vehemence are the characteristics of discussion, it is exceedingly difficult to reach the truth ; and hence, to this hour, the justification of the conquest of Scinde is a moot point. Let it suffice, that the annexation of Scinde is a recognised blessing to the people, under the good government of England.

The sword had scarcely been sheathed, after the conquest of the country of the Ameers, when a new cause of political interference arose. The Maharajah, Junktjee Scindia, of Gwalior, died. His widow was a child of twelve years of age ;\* she adopted a boy of eight years of age (of course under ministerial guidance) as the successor to the musnud. One Mama Sahib was appointed Regent during the boy's minority. Soon afterwards the Queen, or Maharanee, and the Regent quarrelled : her majesty favour-

\* Marriages are almost always contracted for the Hindoos by their parents during the childhood of the parties. This is done to secure family alliances and property.

ing the pretensions of another minister. This threw the state into commotion, and, as all such internal misunderstandings operate disadvantageously upon the frontier, Lord Ellenborough found, in the disturbances, a pretext for interference. An army was marched into the Gwalior districts, "to obtain guarantees for the future security of the subjects of Great Britain, on the common frontiers of the two states, to protect the person of the Maharajah of Gwalior, and quell disturbances." The Gwalior state had an army of its own, disciplined by Portuguese officers, and it possessed a very respectable park of artillery. Lord Ellenborough went up himself from Calcutta with the troops, which were commanded by Sir Hugh Gough. A peaceful assent to the terms proposed to the Maharajah was expected; but, to the surprise of the Governor-General, the Gwalior army was found drawn up in hostile array, to oppose the interference of the British. Two desperate battles were the result—one at Maharajpore, and another at Punniah, each within a few miles from the capital. The conflict at Maharajpore was one of the most sanguinary recorded in the annals of modern warfare. The Gwalior battalions exhibited surprising prowess. At Punniah, too, the gallant bearing of the Mahratta troops testified that the old fire was not extinct. But the indomitable courage and discipline of the English army prevailed. The 39th and 40th, at Maharajpore, charged the long lines of guns brought into the field by the soldiers of Gwalior, and the 3rd Buffs and 50th decided the fortunes of the day at Punniah. These successes brought the Gwalior Durbar (or court) upon its knees. Order was restored, the Mahratta army disbanded, and a British contingent substituted.

With this event the brief and feverish rule of Lord Ellenborough terminated. He returned to England in 1844, to be raised to an earldom, as a sort of salve to his wounded pride, for he was peremptorily recalled from the government, by the Court of Directors, in opposition to the wishes of the Ministry.

Sir Henry Hardinge was sent to India, pledged to a pacific policy. It was not merely that the home authori-

ties prescribed a peaceful course ; the feelings of Sir Henry—an old and experienced warrior, who had shared in the red fights of Corunna and Albuera—were altogether opposed to war, which he knew to be the grand obstruction of civilization.

We shall see how far he was enabled to preserve tranquillity, and give an impulse to the arts of peace and the progress of Hindoo enlightenment.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

The Punjab—Runjeet Sing—His Death—Anarchy—Invasion of British India by the Sikhs—Repulsed by Sir H. Gough and Sir H. Hardinge, the Governor-General—Cession of part of the Sikh Territory—The Sikhs subsequently revolt—Murder of two British Political Officers—Siege of Mooltan—Battle of Goojerat—Lord Dalhousie, the new Governor-General, annexes the Punjab—War with Burmah—Sepoy Mutinies—Lord Canning succeeds the Marquis of Dalhousie—Revolt of the Bengal Army—Dreadful Massacre of Europeans—Troops sent for in every direction—The Mutineers possess themselves of all the principal places—Delhi and Lucknow occupied by them and besieged.

NORTH-WEST of British India, is an extensive level plain, through which flow five rivers, having a north-easterly source, and a south-westerly course towards the Indian Ocean. These rivers give to the territory the title of the *Punjab*—from *punj*, “five,” and *aub*, “waters.” Their names are the Indus, the Jelum, the Chenab, the Ravee, and the Sutlej. This territory contains a population of from 3,500,000 to 5,000,000 souls, of various races, who are generally comprehended under the denomination of the Sikhs, though in reality not more than 500,000 Sikhs are to be found in the whole country. When Alexander the Great invaded India, 328 years B. C., he crossed the

Punjaub, and found it occupied by Hindoos of the Buddhist religion. This people continued to hold the country, uninterruptedly, until the tide of Mahomedan conquest, in the tenth century of the Christian era, supplanted them by Mussulman domination. The Mahomedan rule lasted until near the middle of the 16th century, when a man of obscure origin, a Hindoo, named Nanuk, began to teach the doctrine of the unity of God, and to acquire respect and renown by practising the austerities of a holy man, and leading a life of abstinence and virtue. In a very short time, one hundred thousand men, of all sects, had become converts to his theory ; taking the denomination of *Sikh*, from the Sanscrit word *Sichsha*, or disciple. Towards the close of the 17th century the accepted leaders of the Sikhs had formed them into a religious and military commonwealth, which became exceedingly formidable to the Mahomedan rulers. Gooroo Govind, the spiritual ruler of the Sikhs, in 1690, gave them the title of *Singhs*, or lions, which elevated them greatly in their self-respect. By the end of the 18th century, after manifold conflicts with the Mogul sovereigns, the Sikhs had managed to obtain possession of several portions of the Punjaub, and, subsequently, one of their Sirdars or Chiefs, Runjeet Singh by name, contrived, either by grant from the Mahomedans, or conquest from the contemporary Sirdars, to acquire the sovereignty of the entire country between the Indus and the Sutlej. This was early in the present century.

Runjeet Singh, as sagacious as he was brave and adventurous, formed, at an early period of his career, a just estimate of the power of the British ; and, although, for purposes of defence against northern and western-frontier foes, he had caused a large portion of his army to be drilled, and disciplined by French officers, he always cultivated a good understanding with the English ; for he had seen that the inevitable result of a conflict with that power was the destruction of the independence of the Native State that should provoke its anger. Thus, he received and exchanged the visits of the successive Governors-General, yielded to the suggestion of one (Lord W. Bentinck), that the navi-

gation of the Indus should be free, and conceded to the other (Lord Auckland) facilities for the passage of troops into Afghanistan, and an open communication between Cabul and India during the occupation of the former country by the British.

After the death of Runjeet Singh, whose genius maintained the peace and independence of the Punjab, the affairs of the country fell into confusion. Successive Maharajahs, or chiefs, either died from extraordinary accidents, or were assassinated by rivals at their own courts. To such a pitch of anarchy had affairs attained, that, when during the minority of Dhuleep Singh (1844) a queen held the regency, the army, in the last stage of insubordination, insisted on being led across the Sutlej, that it might plunder the British provinces. The Queen, compelled, in order to maintain her own position, to give way to the wishes of the troops, was at no loss for pretexts for the contemplated aggression. The Durbar (or Court) of Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, urged that the British, by assembling troops, near the Sutlej, meditated hostilities; that we would not make restitution of certain moneys lodged by a deceased sovereign in our treasury at Ferozepore; and that we countenanced and protected certain recusant chiefs on the south-east side of the Sutlej. Sixty thousand Sikhs, regular and irregular, and 200 guns, were, in November 1845, put in motion towards the British frontier.

Sir Henry Hardinge, as we have said in a foregoing chapter, had been appointed Governor-General of India. Inclined to peace, he used every honourable effort to dissuade the Sikhs from their mad attempt. Finding his exertions perfectly vain, he ordered all the troops, in the Upper Provinces, to assemble near the frontier; then, placing the whole of the operations under the guidance of Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, he offered his own services as second in command. *Confident in their superiority of numbers and strength of artillery, the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej.* The British force encountered them at the village of Moodkee, afterwards at Ferozeshuhur, then at Aliwal, and subsequently, assailing their entrenched

position at Sobraon, drove them back into the Punjab, and pursued them to Lahore. The annals of warfare in India present many instances of sanguinary contests, but the worst were exceeded by the battles south of the Sutlej. In the first two engagements, it was as much as the English could do to hold their ground. Our loss was great: officers of the highest rank fell in the conflicts. The two latter engagements were decided victories. The stubborn determination of the British troops overcame the gallant resistance of the Sikhs, many thousands of whom fell victims to the rash attempt of their leaders.

and progressive. He avoided direct interference with the usages of the people, and recommended a similar course to the native princes. He promoted education by establishing vernacular schools ; devoted the revenues, as far as the war expenses would allow him, to public improvements, (roads, railways, bridges, &c.) ; continued the good work of his predecessors in putting down infanticide and human sacrifices ; and so ably managed the finances of the country that there was no deficit on his departure from India : and that is saying much, considering that, when he arrived, the annual expenditure had exceeded the income by two millions sterling.

No sooner had the annexation of the Punjab given Lord Dalhousie time and opportunity to devote himself to the civil affairs of the country, than he threw all his energies and talents—which were very considerable—into the interesting task. The command of the army had now devolved on General Sir Charles Napier, so that the work of reform was simultaneously prosecuted in every branch of the service. Lord Dalhousie gave to the Punjab a strong and wise government ; he personally visited the northernmost stations to arrange for the pacification of the frontier ; thence he proceeded to the West of India, and afterwards returned to Calcutta. He was not content to see with the eyes of other men : young, ardent, original, he investigated every part of the administration *in propriâ personâ*. He found the civil service endangered in its integrity and independence by the pecuniary embarrassments of many of its leading members. He dismissed from employment all who were in a state of thraldom from their monetary difficulties. At the same time Sir Charles Napier dealt severely with the indebtedness of the officers of the army, and published orders strongly condemnatory of financial extravagance. Pleased with the success which had attended the incorporation of the Punjab with the British territories, Lord Dalhousie, acting upon a policy diametrically opposed to that of Lord Hardinge and Lord W. Bentinck, annexed the state of Sattarah when the Rajah died without heirs ; seized the state of Nagpore ; and

finally added the fair and ill-governed province of Oude to the British dominions. His object was to give consistency to the empire, and to annihilate systems of rule which were incompatible, in his view, with the advancement of the natives in enlightenment. Concurrently with these measures, laws were passed which enabled Hindoos to inherit property, even if they should change their religion; Christian education was encouraged, and the connection of the Government with the idolatry of the people was severed. These, with the resumption of lands to which no satisfactory titles could be established, laid the foundation of much uneasiness among the higher classes of natives, who began to discover—as they supposed—a settled design upon the part of the Government to interfere with their faith, and reduce them to one common level. Still they made no sign. Meanwhile, the state of the Bengal native army began to cause much apprehension that the predictions of the old officers, who had given evidence before the House of Commons in 1832, were about to be verified. A mutinous spirit had manifested itself after the conquest of Seinde: the annexation of the Punjab led to a similar development of discontent: the sepoys claimed extra pay on crossing the frontier. Sir C. Napier saw the danger which menaced the empire if the regiments were allowed their way. He applied the strong hand—punished mutiny, and saved the country. He disbanded a regiment, removed incompetent officers, and invoked the aid of the Government. But Lord Dalhousie, jealous of his prerogative, failed to support Sir Charles, who resigned his command in anger and disgust. A war broke out with the Burmese in 1852. An army was sent to Rangoon and thence to Prome and Pegu, which were rapidly conquered. Previous to its departure the 38th Bengal Native Infantry mutinied for extra pay, and Lord Dalhousie most unwisely succumbed to the demand.

Leaving India, with a constitution impaired by ill-health and great personal anxiety and exertion, the Marquis of Dalhousie bequeathed to Viscount Canning, who now became Governor-General, a dissatisfied people, and a dis-

appointed army. Exiled sovereigns and princes were residing in different parts of India ; several of them had sent agents and representatives to England, to plead their cause at the foot of the throne. Oude, Sattarah, Surat, Nagpore, Scinde, and certain minor states had their turbanned agents in London, who passed their days in besieging the India House, the Board of Control, and the doors of members of the legislature ; and their nights in visiting the houses of the nobility or places of public entertainment. The English public indifferent to, because ignorant of, the affairs of India, saw in this gathering of the Princes of India among whom was a *bonâ-fide* ex-Queen, preserving the mysterious seclusion peculiar to an Asiatic zenana, an indication of the disappearance of prejudice, and a desire to cultivate kindly feelings with England. Closer observers, familiar with India, discovered in the unusual assemblage, the last efforts of despairing dynasties. An Indian Reform Association, numbering among its members several M.P.s and retired civil officers of the government, arose out of the accumulation of grievances, and it was every day becoming more evident that the elements of internal disorder were at work in India. No one was blind to the fact but the Government. Obstinate and indifferent to the wrongs of the past, every man in power—from the President of the Board of Control down to the civil and military officers of the Government—believed the English in India reposed on a bed of roses. Such a thing as a general revolt, uniting all classes, was believed to be an impossibility, looking at the antipathy of the Hindoo to a Mussulman rule, and *vice versa*. Besides, there was no apparent bond of concord in prospect. The Government had nothing to do but pursue its reforms peacefully, and all India would ultimately settle down into an Arcadia. Such was the infatuation of the time.

Suddenly, without a word of such warning as supine and confiding governments require, the empire was struck to its very centre by the most violent and serious convulsion to which any country, similarly circumstanced, had ever been exposed !

The efficiency of a newly-invented rifled-musket having been demonstrated in a recent war with Russia, the East India Directors despatched a supply of the weapon to India, for general introduction into the army. To force the bullet into the barrel with the greater facility, the cartridges are lubricated with a composition of oil, bees'-wax, and fat. To the English soldier this is a matter of no concern ; for, being of a carnivorous habit, it is immaterial to him what description of animal matter is placed between his lips.\* It is otherwise with the native of India. The Hindoo of the higher caste respects the cow ; the Moslem abhors the pig. The fat on the cartridge raised suspicions. Were the Feringees about to adopt a furtive method of destroying caste ? Was this a first step towards that evangelisation of the natives which had hitherto proceeded through the more open process of legal enactments ? The subject was much discussed in the cantonments of the sepoys. It was believed, and all but substantiated, that the minister of the ex-king of Oude saw in this growing discontent and cankering doubt the opportunity of rebellion. Communications were opened with other native chieftains, and flour cakes, called *chuppatees*, were rapidly sent about the country, as signals for a general rising. Still the Government slumbered in security. The *chuppatees* were, in its opinion, harmless symbols connected with some superstition. Strange to say, there was not in all the districts under the Bengal Presidency, nor in the North-West Provinces, one man who was sufficiently interested for the existing rulers to raise an alarm of meditated insurrection ! A prophecy had been pretty generally circulated in India, a few years previously, that, in the year 1857, just one hundred years from the date of Clive's victory at Plassey, the Mahomedan supremacy would be restored ; but this prophecy had been derided then, and was disregarded now. The Government took no precautions whatever. A war had broken out with Persia, and the troops had been sent

\* Cartridges contain powder and a bullet. To loosen the powder the end of the paper is bitten off by the soldier when he loads his piece.

away to the Persian Gulf. Another war had commenced with China. The attention of the authorities was directed anxiously to these points. Never was the time more favourable for revolt. Instigated by designing emissaries, indifferent to the service, believing that their *deen* (faith) was in danger of subversion, trusting to the promises of better service under a Mogul sovereign, and lured by the hope of rich plunder, some Bengal regiments refused the "greased cartridges," and openly mutinied. Two regiments were disbanded in Bengal and a number of cavalry mutineers were imprisoned in Upper India. Impatient of control, the comrades of the latter, on the 11th of May, 1857, broke open the prison doors, and not only set free the incarcerated troopers, but let loose upon the station (Meerut, forty miles from Delhi) several hundreds of convicts of the worst classes. Instantaneously the work of devastation began. The public buildings, the private dwellings of Europeans were fired. The officers, in alarm, rushed to the parade-ground; they were shot down by the mutineers. The European troops, two regiments, were called out; the native regiments rose to a man. After much damage had been done, and several lives sacrificed, the mutineers hastened to Delhi. Their movement was in anticipation of the planned revolt, but they were welcomed by the native soldiers, who were in the secret. The whole body, aided by the vagabonds of the city, turned upon the English. A massacre ensued, equal in rapidity and intensity to the slaughter of the Huguenots, and rivalling in horror the Sicilian Vespers. The King of Delhi was proclaimed the Ruler of all India, and preparations were made for organising an army in his service out of the mutinous materials. The news of the movement at Delhi spread with the rapidity of wildfire, and the existence of an organised plan of rebellion, with its attendant atrocities, then became painfully apparent. At Agra, at Allahabad, at Lucknow, at Cawnpore, Barrilay, Neemuch, Mhow, Saugor, Jhansi, Hissar—in short, throughout the whole of the provinces in the North-West, the sepoys abandoned their allegiance, turned upon their

officers ; pitilessly murdering, often with previous torture and insult, not only their leaders, from whom they had never experienced aught but kindness, but their wives, sisters, and infant children ! All law and order was at an end ; authority was defied ; protection was only to be found in individual courage and intelligence, or in flight. One Nana Sahib, a descendant of the Peishwa of Poonah, who had, a short time previously, suffered a reduction in his pension, became the most active leader in the revolt ; perpetrating the most abominable cruelties, and practising the vilest treachery. Believing in his proffered friendship and assurance of protection, numbers of persons were either tempted to leave Cawnpore, to be ruthlessly assassinated in their boats, or were kept for a time within the place, and then offered up as sacrifices to the intense hatred of the arch villain. Happily, the electric telegraph had become one of the facts of civilised life in India ; and the Punjab, tranquil and happy, was governed by a man of marvellous energy, sagacity, and influence. Sir John Lawrence had early news of the revolt, and he took the most decided measures for preventing its spread to the Punjab. He disarmed regiments on which he could not rely. He organised levies of Sikhs, on whom dependence might be placed. He formed a moveable column, and advanced every disposable soldier in the direction of Delhi. He kept up active communication with the Government of Bombay, urging the despatch of troops to the interior. Lord Canning, at Calcutta, was at first slow to believe that a revolt could, by any possibility, become universal, and limited himself to communications with General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, then at Simla, in the Himalaya, and assuring replies to the trading associations at the metropolis. But news came thick and fast of the rapid spread of disaffection ; every post brought its detail of new murders, new burnings, plunder and violence ; and suspicion began to fall on the ex-King of Oude as the author of this terrible movement. Troops were applied for to the Governors of Ceylon, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope. Reinforcements were implored from England.

The King of Oude was arrested, and placed in durance—the papers seized in his house justifying this precautionary measure. Volunteer corps were formed in Calcutta; the ships in the river Hooghly were armed, and many persons took refuge on board, for no one could tell whether there would not be a rising of the population. The native regiments at Barrackpore were disarmed. The same steps were taken at other places; but, where these precautions were disregarded, the corps invariably rose. In a short time the Bengal native army had ceased to exist, excepting as a handful of unemployed sepoys, or a mass of mutineers, hastening to concentrate at Delhi. Gradually—very gradually—for the season was unfavourable to rapid movements,—a small force of good men and true (the 60th Rifles, the 75th, and a part of the 6th Carabineers, with some artillery and Punjab levies) took up a position before Delhi. Hostilities began. It was evident that the mutineers forming the garrison were determined to hold out until driven from the ancient capital of the Moguls by a regular siege. Day by day they received immense reinforcements of armed men, provisions, ammunition, and treasure. They made sorties on the British position, and were repulsed with loss; they ventured upon flank attacks, in great force, and were driven back, but not without many casualties on the side of the investing army. Climate, too, was doing its work among the Europeans: General Anson fell a victim to cholera; Sir H. Barnard, his successor, succumbed to an attack of dysentery; General Reid abandoned the command from ill-health; Colonel Wilson, of the Artillery, was the only man left to conduct operations.

Fortunately for the safety of the empire, the war with Persia had come to a close; the troops sent from Bombay had begun to return. The 64th and 78th Highlanders, two admirable regiments, reached the presidency under Brigadier Havelock, an officer who had seen much service in India, Affghanistan, Burmah, and the Punjab. He might, like the Royal Marines, have adopted '*ubique*' as his motto. Not a moment was lost in sending him to Upper India; before Allahabad, Agra, Cawnpore, and Lucknow were be-

leaguered, and sundry valuable lives had been sacrificed in sorties and sieges. He was preceded by the Madras Fusiliers, under Colonel Neil, another intrepid soldier of the energetic stamp. Neil and his Fusiliers relieved Allahabad, saving Benares on their way. General Havelock's march was conducted with unexampled rapidity and perseverance. The trials of the soldiers were great, for the heat was overpowering. As they approached the scenes of the rebellion, they were met by the mutineers in immense strength. Nothing daunted, Havelock's brigade gave battle *nine times* to the desperate enemy! The sepoys showed that they had learnt the art of war in a good school. Though devoid of experienced leaders, they, nevertheless, manœuvred with skill, and fought with a daring worthy of their predecessors in the days of Clive, Coote, and Lake. But they recoiled before the repeated attacks of the invincible brigade. Cawnpore was retaken by Havelock: the cantonment had been reduced to a heap of ruins, and the only remains of the Christian occupants were pools of blood, and a well filled with the dead bodies of women and children! Leaving a detachment behind him, Havelock advanced to the relief of Lucknow, and was in time to join the beleaguered detachment, cooped up within the walls of the Residency, before the mines laid by the foe for their destruction, could be fired. The enemy fiercely resisted the advance of the brigade through the streets. Valuable lives were sacrificed. Neil died a soldier's death.

While these movements were taking place, Brigadier Wilson had received an accession of strength from the Punjab, and the siege of Delhi was pushed forward. A breach was made—a gate was blown open by the desperate means of attaching thereto a powder-bag, in the face of a galling fire of musketry. The daring Lieutenant Salkeld and three non-commissioned officers, fell victims to their hardihood. The troops now rushed in, driving the mutineers before them. The occupation of so vast a town as Delhi was necessarily gradual, and every step was, for a time, obstinately disputed. At length the mutineers gave way and fled. The King and his family escaped: they

were pursued and overtaken, at the Tomb of Hoomayoon. Two of the sons, who had taken an active part in the revolt were shot upon the spot; two others were taken, tried, and similarly disposed of: the life of the King was spared that he might be subjected to the ordeal of a trial. The town was laid in ruins. The loss of the British—including the gallant Brigadier Nicholson, a most distinguished officer, who had hastened to Delhi, with troops for the Punjab—was very heavy. But the neck of the rebellion had been broken, and order was restored in, at least, one great province in Upper India.

The fugitive mutineers now hastened to Lucknow, to encompass General Havelock; and his position became very critical. Luckily, convoys of provisions were thrown in, to enable him to maintain his hold upon the town until succour could arrive. Time, which had enabled the revolt to attain maturity, had been also favourable to the operations of the British Government. Troops now began to arrive from England, the Cape, and the Mauritius; troops intended for China were diverted from their route, and, with the assistance of Royal Marines and a naval brigade, had come to the rescue. Sir Colin Campbell, who had been a good soldier all his life, arrived at Calcutta to take the command of the army; and when he had a sufficient force in hand, for the two-fold purpose of protecting the lower provinces, and crushing the mutiny in the upper country, he hastened to Cawnpore. The best soldiers England could afford had been sent to India—the soldiers who bore the Crimean medal on their breasts, or who had shared in the sanguinary campaigns on the Sutlej.

Sir Colin Campbell hastened to Cawnpore with a considerable force. He purposed at once moving on to Lucknow. By the 11th of November, 1857, he had reached Alumbagh, an outskirt, distant three miles from the Residency, where the troops, under Generals Havelock and Outram, were still holding their ground, though hampered by the presence of many women and children. Sir Colin found a column, under Brigadier Hope Grant, awaiting him at Alumbagh. The joint forces amounted to about 10,000

men. Sir Colin immediately commenced operations against the mutineers. The resistance offered appears to have been very fierce. Six days of continual fighting resulted in the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, the dispersion of the rebels, and the safe conduct of all the wounded, the convalescent, the women, and the children to Cawnpore.

But the snake was only "scotched, not killed." Strong in numbers, aware of the consequences of surrender, capture, or discomfiture, the mutineers now betook themselves to the interior of the province of Oude, or scattered themselves in strong compact bodies throughout Eastern and Central India. They had an immense park of artillery and great quantities of ammunition at command. Their leaders, Nana Sahib, Tantia Topee, and the Nawaub of Furruckabad, with men of lesser note, inspired them with confidence. To pursue this vast force, which moved with a celerity impossible to Europeans, was out of the question. The season of operations was, besides, unfavourable. Sir Colin Campbell, therefore, deferred further movements until he should have received immense reinforcements, and had marched them from all points upon the enemy, so as to encircle him within a comparatively narrow compass. In a few weeks this plan of proceeding was carried out, and had its reward in the rapid destruction of the rebels. A proclamation from the Governor-General promising an amnesty to all who should surrender, provided no act of murder could be traced to them, assisted Sir Colin Campbell materially. By the time the cold weather of 1859 had passed away (the month of March), the embers of disaffection had been trodden out. The KING OF DELHI, proved to have instigated the massacres within the palace in June 1857, had been tried by a commission and sentenced to banishment from India to Rangoon, a British possession in Burmah. TANTIA TOPEE was caught and hanged. The NAWAUB OF FURRUCKABAD surrendered: he was tried, sentenced to death, and ultimately banished. Many estates of mutinous zemindars were confiscated, and the gallows ended the miserable lives of some of the most culpable of the assassins.

writers—that the officers of the Native Regiments were insufficient for the duties and the control required of them; that the European regiments were too few; that it was dangerous to teach the Natives the use of artillery; and that the power of the commanding officers was too much restricted—were all unheeded. These circumstances were dwelt upon in pamphlets, in speeches, and in newspaper articles. In fact every condition in the State found something wherewith to reproach the East India Company. The Bishops charged them with indifference to conversion and to the interests of Christianity—the commercial communities attributed the neglect of the soil to their parsimony. Within the walls of Parliament, however, the India Government had a few eloquent friends; and the Directors put forth a Memorandum describing all the good that had been effected during the period of the existence of the Company.

All would not do. The Ministry brought forward a Bill for the withdrawal of all political authority and trust from the Company and the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown. A change of ministry took place while the subject was being debated, but it produced no effect on public determination: Parliament passed the Bill by a large majority. A Secretary of State, with a Council of eighteen members, was appointed to govern the country, and a proclamation went forth throughout the length and breadth of India announcing to the people that henceforth they were to consider themselves the subjects of QUEEN VICTORIA. This change took place in the autumn of 1858.

England, from that date, entered upon a new phase of her connection with Hindostan. For two hundred years we have seen her engaged in the establishment and extension of her commercial intercourse with the East, and for the past century in the gradual acquisition of territorial possession and political ascendancy. The latter portion of her task was not at all times easy, nor invariably creditable to the authorities in India, to whom the East India Company had delegated power. At first we had to wage war with martial chieftains, with a people accustomed to a

military life, and vastly outnumbering our own forces. The Mysoreans and the Mahrattas were only to be overcome by the stubborn resistance of disciplined bands, inspired by the example and encouraged by the skilful leadership of the fair-haired warriors of the West. The sword, in such hands, ultimately triumphed ; but success, and a familiarity with the art of overcoming Asiatic hordes by the European system of tactics, encouraged aggression. Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Ellenborough, and Dalhousie, acquired a reputation for brilliancy of rule, at the expense of the national character for moderation and justice. It is much to be regretted that when conquests had been achieved, and annexations effected, the Government of India did not proceed, as far as circumstances would permit, to consolidate possession on a basis of civilization, either by the absolute introduction of an improved fiscal and judicial system, or by encouraging the native princes left in authority to adopt usages more in conformity with our notions of humanity and the dictates of common sense.

The East India Company have strong claims upon the grateful recollection, the admiration, and the consideration of the people of England. Their rule will bear a comparison with that of the most enlightened men who ever swayed the rod of empire since the days of Augustus Cæsar. Their liberality towards their servants brought out great talents, which reacted upon the welfare of the people of India, and promoted the aggrandisement of the English name : their errors, which were numerous, resulted from their inability to overcome the force of habit, or from the absence of any direct responsibility to the free and intelligent people of Great Britain. The control established by Mr. Pitt's bill operated injuriously. It hampered the East India Company in the fulfilment of good intentions, and, by relieving them of the obligation of answering to the highest national tribunal—public opinion—for their shortcomings, it induced a dangerous lassitude, and a perseverance in an unwise system of policy.

Double governments always have a pernicious action, Neither branch obtains credit for good deeds, and each

shelters itself from the reproach of misdoing, by shifting the blame to the other. One of the last Presidents of the Board of Control, while admitting his responsibility for the acts of the East Indian Directors, declared that it was his practice to cast the reins on their necks, and let them run on as they listed, only applying the spurs if they did not move with sufficient celerity—a witty figure of speech, which elicited from a Director the equally brilliant retort that the directors did not need the spurs, for they generally *went ahead of the Government departments*; so that it was quite uncertain which of the parties merited the greatest amount of public reprobation—the one whose control was confessedly limited to the application of stimuli, or the authority which avowed its independence of all necessity for coercion.

It was high time that the British public should awaken to a sense of its own dignity, and to the solemn obligation of giving to the people of India a government that should be tangible, intelligible, and powerful. Everything was propitious to such an undertaking, and we shall see in the two following chapters with what marvellous success the Queen's government worked out their admirable plans for the prosperity of the country and the happiness and welfare of the native community.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Consolidation of British power—Character of Lord Canning—He proceeds up the country—Durbars at Lucknow and Agra—The Star of India—The Wuzerees—Their defeat—Buddhism—Failure of American cotton through the Civil War—India cotton growth—New railways—The geological survey—The electric telegraph—The finance counsellors—Income-tax—Sir Charles Trevelyan at Madras—Opium cultivated in Oude—The population disarmed.

IT has been observed by an able modern writer, that while conquest has ever been the easiest and most frequent of man's achievements, the consolidation of conquest has proved the least successful effort of his genius. It has always been easier to win empire by the sword than to re-establish it by the law of order and government—easier to enslave the body than subject the will—to enforce submission to the conqueror than obedience to the legislator. Nowhere have all the phases of conquest been so thoroughly illustrated as in India. It has been the great stage on which the great drama has been acted in all its successive scenes and acts. Conquests which have broken over its boundaries like an inundation, and receded, leaving only a debris; conquests which have rolled over it wave on wave, sweeping races on races and laying them in layers like ribs of sand on the sea-shore mixed with weed and shell; wars of annexation—wars of spoliation—wars of dynasties—and wars of races—wars of creeds and intrigues—all have passed on and off the land, leaving their consequences and effects: yet in no time was the consequence or effect consolidation of empire or amalgamation of race. Alive to this fact, so painfully made manifest, the new Government determined to apply itself to give firmness and coherence to the British Indian dominion. "Amalgamation of race," though a theory which found favour with Alexander the Great, Albuquerque, the Portuguese, and Napoleon Buonaparte, was out of the question with the British Go

perience had proved that in all cases where miscegenation had been practised in India, no improvement had taken place in the attachment of the natives to the European ; nor were the moral and physical fruits of the admixture of bloods such as afforded any reason to believe that a race could be created whose instincts, energies, and affections would afford a guarantee of the permanence of British power. The Eurasian inherits much of the feebleness of the native mother, and little of the indomitable will and muscular development of the European father.

Opinions had been expressed in the course of the mutiny and the measures taken for its suppression, adverse to the government of Lord Canning. It was alleged that he had at first been supine and timid, unnecessarily curbing or suppressing the press of India, tardy in sending reinforcements to threatened points, and subsequently vindictive and malignant in his retributive proceedings. But the ministry and the officials about him knew that all these charges were utterly without foundation in fact, and owed their origin to the apprehensions of the writers and their ignorance of the character of the ruler they assailed. One who knew him well described Lord Canning as a man possessed of remarkable analytic power, an ability of investigation, a habit of appreciating and weighing evidence, a spirit of justice and moderation, and a judicial turn of mind which made a deep impression on all who were admitted to his councils and his conversation. His opinions once formed were not easily if ever to be shaken ; and his mode of investigation, abhorrent from all instinctive impulses, and *dreading above all things a quick decision*, was to pursue the forms of the strictest analysis; to pick up every little thorn on the path, to weigh it, to consider it, and then to cast it aside or to pile it with its fellows ; to go from stone to stone, strike them and sound them, and at last, on the highest point of the road, to fix a sort of granite pedestal declaring, that the height is so and so and the view is so and so—so firm and strong that all the storms and tempests of the world might beat against it and find it immovable.

Such a character, while it explained the past, was a

guarantee for the future. The Secretary of State wisely resolved on retaining Lord Canning in the post of Governor-General, convinced that he possessed all the requisites for healing the wounds which rankled in India, and placing affairs upon a firm and satisfactory basis.

Lord Canning's first act was to proceed up the country and hold durbars and levees among the native princes, chieftains, and zemindars who had been loyal and friendly at a time of general defection or indifference. In Oude he restored to the landholders all their great privileges, and manifested the most perfect confidence in their future loyalty. They, on their part, recognised his sense of justice, and in a grateful spirit announced to him that they had resolved to banish infanticide among themselves—an announcement than which nothing could be more acceptable to the humane and generous mind of the Viceroy.

The Talookdars, as certain landholders are called, addressed Lord Canning in very flowery and hyperbolical strains peculiarly Oriental. He accepted their address for what it was worth ; and knowing that some of them had been lukewarm and others positively hostile towards the Government, he replied to them in very plain English. After enumerating the happy changes that had been wrought in Oude within two years of the extinction of the mutiny, Lord Canning said :—

“ You have seen it proved before your eyes that there is no section, no race, or multitude of you which can hope to brave the power of the English Government with impunity.

“ You have seen that those who resist or cross that Government, it is sure and swift to punish ; although, justice satisfied, it is eager to forgive and to forget.”

The Talookdars accepted the monition with a good grace, and will not readily forget either the strength or the significance of the language addressed to them by the representative of the Sovereign of India.

At Agra Lord Canning announced to the Maharajah of Gwalior that he had determined to augment his territory to the extent of 30,000*l.* per annum, and gave him permission

to increase the strength of his army. The Maharajah's arrears of tribute were further remitted; and what was more agreeable to him than any other recompense of his fidelity in the hour of trust, he was authorised to adopt a successor in default of lineal issue. Suitable rewards were likewise bestowed upon the Rajah of Jeypore and the Nawaub of Tonk who had been found faithful among the faithless. On some of the princes the "*Most Exalted Order of the Star of India*" was conferred. This order was expressly established\* for the purpose of affording the princes, chiefs, and people of India a public and signal testimony of the Queen's regard—a commemoration of her assumption of the government of the territories, and a means of enabling her to reward conspicuous merit and loyalty. The order is as select as that of the Garter. It consists of only twenty-seven recipients—the Sovereign, the Prince of Wales, who is the Grand Master, and twenty-five knights.

Among the princes and chiefs whose friendship and fidelity to her engagements the Viceroy had to recognise was her Highness the Secunder Begum of Bhopal. Attired in a green kincaub tunic, and pantaloons embroidered with gold, and wearing a heavy cloth of gold around her head and shoulders, gold brooches at her neck and waist, and a pair of gloves upon her hands—in which respect she presented an exception to the other Knights of the order—her Highness accepted the honour conferred upon her with becoming grace. Lord Canning accompanied the installation of the Begum with these words:—

“Your Highness is very welcome to this durbar. I have long desired to thank you for the services which you have rendered to the Queen's Government.

“Your Highness is the ruler of a State which is conspi-

\* The insignia of this rare distinction may be thus described:—The collar is of gold and enamel, composed of the lotus of India, palm-branches, and the united red and white roses. In the centre of the enamel is an imperial crown. The badge, suspended to the collar, is an onyx cameo of Queen Victoria's effigy, set in an ornamental oval, containing the motto “Heaven's light our guide.” The badge is surmounted by a star in diamonds. The mantle of the order is of light-blue satin.

euous in Indian history for never having been in arms against the British power; and lately when that State was beset and threatened by our enemies, you, a woman, guided its affairs with a courage, an ability, and a success that would have done honour to any statesman or soldier. Besides the great services of repressing revolt around you, and of securing the safety of all Englishmen, amongst whom was the agent of the Governor-General, you never failed to aid and expedite to the utmost of your power all bodies of British troops that came within your reach."

Lord Canning concluded by granting the Begum the sovereignty of the district of Bairseal, formerly a dependency of the State of Dhar—to which Dhar had forfeited all claim by its active participation in the rebellion.

Lord Canning had now an opportunity of further distinguishing his rule by throwing open all the waste lands of India to cultivation by Europeans.

Not more than three years had elapsed since the mutiny when an event happened (which had been predicted, and for which England had often been warned by wise men to prepare) every way calculated to benefit India by forcing the Government to accelerate her productive powers. This was the civil war in America, arising out of the secession of the Southern States from their union with those of the north. The Southern States had been the chief source whence England drew her supplies of raw cotton for conversion into clothing and other piece goods. India had been neglected because, while she was at a greater distance than America, and it cost more money for the freight of cotton brought thence, the cotton was alleged to be of an inferior character and not susceptible of improvement. The Government of the United States, by closing the ports of the rebel States, suddenly deprived England of her usual supplies; and terrible consequences to the manufacturing and shipping interests were expected to flow from this necessary measure of policy. Great efforts were immediately set on foot by the Lancashire cotton-spinners to meet the difficulty. To procure cotton from other countries the soil of which is suited to its production was the first step

decided upon; for it was clear that the British Government did not mean to recognise the Southern Confederacy or countenance any violation of the blockade declared by the United States Government. India appeared to offer the largest field for the supply of the requisite article, and to that country, accordingly, the attention of the manufacturers was primarily directed. A "Cotton Supply Association" had been formed five years previously. Large sums were now subscribed (1861) in aid of its augmented duties, and a fair prospect appeared to be opening for the remedy of the mischiefs resulting from the stoppage of the American supplies. Lord Canuing saw his opportunity. He at once proclaimed the waste lands of India available for purchase by Europeans, and placed the price of the lands in fee simple so low that it was expected many men of capital and enterprise would resort to the country for purposes of settlement, and improve and extend the cultivation of the soil. Associations were formed in England to assist persons in purchasing the lands on the advantageous terms offered to the public; and a considerable capital was at once embarked in an undertaking which promised to be so fruitful of advantage. But the Secretary of State for India did not see fit to approve of the step taken by Lord Canning, and therefore put his veto upon the regulations previously passed by the Governor-General. For reasons of state policy not fully disclosed, Sir Charles Wood further refused to allow the collectors upon the Madras establishment to remit any of the permanent revenue upon land in favour of persons who might wish to devote that land to the improvement of native cotton. "It is essential, for any practical purpose," wrote the Secretary of State for India, "that the possibility of growing the improved cotton to advantage should be shown upon lands subjected to the ordinary charges in India; and, therefore, any remission of rent is not only objectionable on principle but renders the trial quite unsatisfactory: I, therefore, request that the instructions given on this subject may be withdrawn." The grand object of the Government appears to have been of late years to reduce the amount of the State

debt of India and to realise as much immediate revenue as, combined with financial economy, would meet all the current charges and leave a surplus. To do this may have appeared incompatible with any concessions having only a remote good in view; and hence the sluggishness that has been apparent in the improvement of the growth of Indian cotton. Still a great deal has been accomplished in the right direction; and in proportion as railroads increase in number and the means of water-carriage are multiplied, the commercial and agricultural resources of India will doubtless receive ample development.

In 1860 the cotton imported into England from India amounted to 340,000 cwt.; in 1861 to 342,000 cwt.; and in 1862 to 1,247,875 cwt.

And here we may mention the extraordinary *momentum* given to schemes for promoting internal communication, when the confidence of the public in the future security of India had been restored. Before the close of the year 1860, the capital authorised to be raised, under the Government guarantee of a certain per centage, for the construction of railways, a steam flotilla, and the irrigation of the southern territories, amounted to 38,000,000*l.* sterling, of which nearly 32,000,000*l.* were at once paid up! Nearly 5000 miles of railway had in this way been opened. A line from Calcutta to Lahore, and another from Western India across the peninsula had been projected and commenced some years previously at a cost of 60,000,000*l.*;\* but now lines are chalked out and have since been partially (some wholly) completed to traverse Central India from Bombay *via* Baroda; to run through Scinde; to connect the great towns in the Punjab; to communicate with parts of eastern and south-eastern Bengal, and to cross the south of India generally.

One circumstance which essentially contributed to the railway enterprises, was the report of certain geological surveyors, who had commenced their investigations eight years previously. No fewer than 11,000 specimens of

\* The traffic returns on these lines amounted in 1861-62 to 390,000*l.* In 1862-3, they had risen to 868,000*l.*

various kinds of minerals had been collected by them in that space of time, and from these were deduced unmistakable proofs of the existence of coal and other substances which enter largely into the economy of civilized life.

Contemporaneously with the railway progress must be noted the extension of the electric telegraph in India. Through the exertions and very judicious plans of Sir W. B. O'Shaughnessy, the line has been completed connecting Calcutta in the south-east with Kurrachee, in Scinde, in the north-west. Kurrachee, twenty-five years ago, was a place of no account—an ill-built town under the miserable government of the Ameers of Scinde. Since it has fallen into the hands of the British, it has become the emporium for the commerce of the Indus, and many ships of large tonnage are now to be found continually in its harbour. Scholastic institutions, printing presses, churches, barracks, hospitals—everything that marks a well-governed, well-protected, and prosperous commercial town is now characteristic of Kurrachee.

Fifty miles north of Dehra Ismael Khan, in the Punjab, is the little town of Tonk ; and not far from this is a range of hills occupied by a turbulent tribe called Wuzerees. In the course of their lawless operations these people had murdered a British officer, one Captain Mecham, and had otherwise molested Her Majesty's subjects. This occurred in 1860. The surrender of the murderers was demanded, and no heed being taken of the demand, a force was organized under Brigadier Chamberlain—an officer of singular gallantry and experience—to punish the crime and obtain possession of the offenders. The force got through the difficult passes, frequently encountered the enemy (sometimes in great numbers), and after several battles in which numerous Wuzerees were killed, Brigadier Chamberlain burnt their dwellings and their forts, and returned to the plains by the 16th May, 1861. In a military point of view, the whole affair was not less brilliant and not less successful than the series of border raids by which, during the previous seven years, the British had tamed turbulent

tribes, and converted marauding mountaineers into faithful soldiers and feudatories. The troops under Chamberlain penetrated into an unknown territory further than we had ever done before, terrified the only great tribe which had never been chastised, and added to our prestige in the eyes of other clans which had long witnessed the successful defiance by their neighbours of the British power. More than this, the veil which had covered the topography of the country was completely lifted by Major Walker, who succeeded in mapping the whole territory most accurately and fully. Konegaum, the last settlement captured, was found to be 7000 feet above the level of the sea.

The operations of the great trigonometrical survey, of which Major Walker was a distinguished member, had been materially extended by the conquest of the Punjab, even into Kashmere. The progress made in that interesting valley was considerable and surprising, seeing what serious difficulties had to be encountered as the work progressed, and the surveyors entered higher and more inhospitable ground. In 1861, the triangulations extended over an area of more than 12,000 square miles. At several points it was absolutely carried up to the Chinese boundary. In Ladak and the Upper Indus the stations were very high—usually over 17,000 feet. Mr. Johnson, one of the surveyors, actually took observations at one station more than 20,600 feet high, the greatest altitude yet attained as a station of observation.

Nor is it merely as a great topographical, political, and moral conquest that the Punjab has become an interesting territory. The antiquarian has found his researches rewarded by the discovery of many interesting pieces of sculpture illustrative of the worship of Buddha—the god whom one-third of the human race adore! Forty years since scarcely anything was really known regarding a worship occupying so vast a space in the minds of men; but so zealous and so fortunate have been the researches made since that period, that now everything is as well known regarding Buddhism as the facts of any other religion, not even excepting our own. As in the earliest

pages of this volume the leading features of Hindooism have been sketched, it may not be out of place here to summarise the history and teachings of Buddha. He was born in Oude 600 years before the Christian era. His real name was Siddharta. His father was a king, and his mother the daughter of a king, was celebrated for her marvellous beauty, her intelligence, and her virtue. Buddha subsequently acquired another name, that of Shakyamuni, by which he is most commonly mentioned in the books descriptive of his career. In boyhood he was distinguished for his intelligence and application: he never joined in the games of his companions, but exhibited a precocious tendency to reflection, the forerunner of the gloomy habit of mind which afterwards distinguished him. His contemplation of the condition of humanity—perpetually subject to sickness, old age, and death, at the early age of threescore and ten—afflicted him deeply, and he asked himself if there was no means of escape—no way of salvation? He believed in the transmigration of souls; and his faith in the Pythagorean doctrine afforded abundant nourishment to his disordered and melancholy imagination. At length he secretly left the paternal dwelling, vowing he would never return until he had earned an exemption from future birth and death—until he had “attained to the supreme abode free from old age and death, and in possession of pure intelligence.” He then went to the homes of learned Brahmins, and attended Brahminical schools, astonishing the professors and pupils by his great natural abilities. But he only became convinced, from all that was taught, of the insufficiency of the religion of his country, and therefore retired with some friends to a mountain and *planned the conversion of mankind.* When he fancied he had discovered the means to this great end he returned home and imparted the result of his meditations to those who would listen to him. The chroniclers say that he taught with great success, and had crowds of pupils and devout admirers; he passed from place to place, and was worshipped by the people. He lived to an advanced age, and died in confident expectation that the troubles of his

existence were about to cease for ever, and with a calm hope that he was about to enter into a haven of perpetual rest.

The doctrines taught by Shakyamouni were, that beatitude was to be obtained by the performance of good works which every age, nation, and creed would deem meritorious; but partly also, perhaps principally, by severe austerities—by the sacrifice of the affections, and by the subjugation of the passions. To those persons who conceived a distaste for life, who were oppressed with the fear of future transmigration, on whose souls the imminence of disease and the certainty of death pressed heavily, Buddha gave the advice to retire from social life; to abandon all the holy charities of home; to give up the hope of being useful to the world; to adopt the habits which prevailed in after ages among Christian eremites; to become, in short, recluses, ascetics, religious mendicants: The advice was followed; monasteries were built—men retired from the world by thousands—the drones of the human hive threatened to become more numerous than the bees. And so permanent did this strange religion become, that a thousand years after the death of Shakyamouni there were as many as one hundred monasteries in a single city, each containing fifty monks—five thousand human beings wrapt up in the study of religion and the practice of self-denial. In Ceylon, Buddhism is observed more strictly than in Hindostan. There the monks live entirely by beggary.

To revert to the course of our historical narrative. Sir Charles Wood succeeded Lord Stanley, upon a change of ministry in 1859, as Secretary of State for India, and gave immediately assurance of a determination to discharge the duty of his office with special reference to the welfare of the country, and to avail himself of the aid of the ablest men among those who had distinguished themselves in the India services. Vacancies occurring in the governorship of Bombay and Madras, he conferred the former appointment upon Sir George Clerk, who had erewhile proved a most efficient envoy in the Punjab, and afterwards as Governor at the Cape of Good Hope, and the latter upon Sir Charles Trevelyan. Sir Charles was a young civilian

during the Indian administration of Lord William Bentinck, and had attracted much attention by the originality and the comprehensiveness of his political views. Establishing a family connection with Lord Macaulay, the orator and historian, he returned with him to England; became an Under Secretary of State, and manifested a large capacity in certain measures taken for the relief of the Irish during one of the ever-recurring potato famines. As Governor of Madras he introduced a variety of wholesome changes, simplified and economised the business of government, and gave an impetus to the course of education and the propagation of the Gospel. But he was not long in possession of the office. An indiscretion which neither the Governor-General nor the Secretary of State could possibly overlook led to his recall.

To place the finances of India upon a footing that should enable the revenue to meet the expenditure, and leave a surplus, the Right Hon. James Wilson, whose familiarity with fiscal matters had raised him from the editorship of the 'Economist' to the position of Secretary of the Board of Control, was sent out to India as a member of the Supreme Council, with special instructions to apply himself to the financial question. Mr. Wilson, after a short stay, procured an Act to be passed which imposed a tax on the income of all persons receiving more than 200 rupees per annum, and taxes on licences, and adopted other means of increasing the resources of the Government. The income tax caused a great outcry. Sir Charles Trevelyan deemed it objectionable on certain high grounds of state policy, and was so imprudent as to publish a minute containing his views and sentiments. The opinion of such a man was entitled to much weight, but it was held to be calculated to encourage the community in the hostility to the tax which had already been openly manifested, and upon this ground Sir Charles Wood recalled him; and subsequently, that the country might not lose the benefit of talents which were valuable when tempered by discretion or controlled by contemporary wisdom, appointed him to the council of the Viceroy.

Mr. Wilson dying suddenly, Mr. S. Laing, a member of parliament, much distinguished as a political economist, was appointed his successor; but after a few months' stay he was compelled by ill health to return to England.

One of the measures adopted by the Government for the purpose of increasing the revenues of Oude, was to throw open the cultivation of opium to the people at large. Moralists and philanthropists had ceased to insist that that cultivation was an unworthy means of demoralising the Chinese for sordid objects; they had learned that opium—apart from its medicinal virtues—was nothing more than an agreeable narcotic if taken in moderation, or had but the exhilarating effect of a cigar in the proportions in which it was customarily used. No clamour therefore was raised when the extension of the growth of the poppy was authorised. The cultivation of opium takes place in the cold season, when the manuring and watering are carried on. After the flowers fall, the plant is ripe for the opium harvest; the people flock to the fields in the evening armed with crooked-bladed knives, with which they make incisions in the capsules or poppy heads in various directions; they then retire for the night, and on going to the fields next morning, they find that juice has exuded from the incisions and collected on the surface. At first it is white and milky, but the heat of the sun speedily converts it into a brown gummy mass, in which state it is scraped off. The thickened juice is collected as it exudes day after day until all has been obtained, and this total quantity is affected not only by the whole routine of culture but by the state of the weather during the cultivation and collection. The produce is either simply dried, or, to equalise the quality, the whole of the day's collection is rubbed together in a mortar or similar vessel and reduced to a homogeneous semi-fluid mass which is then quickly dried in the shade.

The mutiny had developed the direful consequence of suffering the natives to possess weapons of offence. An armoury on a small scale was one of those remnants of the feudalism existing under the native government, which

had not been disconcerted during the rule of the English, because the military paraphernalia was kept up more for display than anything else. A *chowkeydar*, or house-watchman, looked bravely with his sword and targe; and the matchlock, which was ever suspended in the *conciergerie* or lodge, made him feel himself a personage of some importance in the household. If the country could have been guaranteed against any improper use of these implements of attack and defence, the system might have continued, but the native had learned how formidable he could become while he had weapons at his disposal, and the Government had discovered that what was at first intended merely for show might be turned in a moment into a means of aggression. Hence it was resolved that the whole population should be at once disarmed, and its protection left entirely to the police and the army. The Europeans felt this as a grievance, for to them arms had literally been no more than a protection, and a very necessary one. The Government were alive to this, and if it could have been so arranged that one class should be allowed to retain its weapons while the other was disarmed, without creating much bitter feeling by the invidious distinction, the European might have been indulged. As it was, any partiality seemed out of the question, excepting in the instances in which the European chose to enrol himself as a member of one of the volunteer corps. On this condition alone the European was permitted to retain his arms, when a decree went forth disarming all the rest of the population. An "Arms Bill" had been found an efficient means of promoting tranquillity in Ireland: there were no reasons for supposing that a similar measure would not prove of equal efficiency in India.

The year 1861 was visited by one of those periodical afflictions which devastate entire provinces and against which it is supposed even the best system of irrigation would fail to guard the territory of India. The failure of the crops of 1860, owing to a paucity of rain, induced a terrible famine early in the ensuing year, and the people were reduced to the most horrible condition. The western part

of India was the chief scene of the fearful visitation. In February, 1861, the calamity had reached so terrible a height, that the poor, incapable of walking, crawled from place to place in search of a few grains of food: the dead and the dying lined the roads. Mothers disposed of their infant offspring by sale, without regard to the caste or creed of the parties to whose mercy they were consigned, and men precipitated themselves into the ocean to abridge the tortures of lingering death by starvation. No fewer than 40,000,000 of human beings were more or less assailed by this awful famine, and the cattle died in vast numbers. Never were the demands of philanthropy more imperative. The Government was prompt to alleviate suffering by purchases of large quantities of grain, and its importation from the islands in the Indian seas was accelerated. Private benevolence likewise manifested its wonted activity. Famine relief funds were established in different parts of the country and in England, and many lacs of rupees were contributed. It was not until the spring crops appeared that plenty again smiled upon the poor people, and the ordinary course of human pursuits was resumed. The famine had spread through the Delhi, Meerut, and Agra divisions, and there was more or less of suffering in the division south of Cawnpore, Rohilkund, beyond the Ganges, the protected Seikh states north of the Dooab, and the countries west of the Jumna.

## CHAPTER XX.

The High Court of Judicature established—The Penal Code—Peculiar Provisions—Punishment of Death—False Evidence—Religious Disturbance—Dacoitee—Bribery of Officials—Offences to Women—The new Organization of the Army—Discontinuance of the Indian Navy—Reconstruction of the Civil Service—The Propagation of the Gospel in India—Educational Precautions—Caste—Lord Canning leaves India.

WHEN Sir Elijah Impey, in the time of Warren Hastings, arrived in Calcutta to assume the office of judge of the Supreme Court, then for the first time established, he is reported to have exclaimed exultingly, that the day was not far distant when, through the prosperity which that court would tend to establish, the naked natives would be clad in broad-cloth. It may be doubted whether, in a Bengal climate, such a quality of garment would at any time have been regarded by the natives as a material addition to their comfort. There is no doubt, however, that the Supreme Court, honestly and ably administered, was for seventy years a source of protection to the people, and an example of the excellence of English law in maintaining private rights and assuring a rational amount of public liberty. Coevally with the Supreme Court there existed another, called the Court of Sudder Dewancee Adawlut, where the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws, tempered by the regulations of the Government, enacted to meet local exigencies and changes, were administered. Gradually these courts had come to assimilate themselves to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court, from the obligation it was supposed to be under of cherishing some regard for native usages, had, step by step, departed from much of its exclusiveness, and had approximated to the Sudder in all but the use of the native language in pleats, records, and judgments. The time had therefore arrived

when an amalgamation of the courts under one head might be advantageously resorted to, especially as a saving of expense, and the expansion of the English language would necessarily follow. Accordingly, the decree went forth for the establishment of a High Court of Judicature at Calcutta, consisting of one chief judge and ten subordinate judges, of whom five were to be English barristers, four to be Europeans who had not been educated for the British Bar, and one a native. A code of laws had long been in preparation, adapted to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India, and soon an addition was made to the number of councillors at each presidency, whose exclusive duty it would be to prepare new laws and regulations as the occasion for them might arise.

In this arrangement the Minister of the affairs of India and his able colleagues showed that they had carefully pondered the teachings of an able modern Reviewer, who had said that the best cure for the petty tyranny and harshness, and the want of all sympathy and consideration with which Europeans in India had irritated and degraded the natives, engendering feelings which at once discredited and imperilled our rule, would be the firm administration of the law by a body of men who are familiar with the high-handed ways with which English courts treat every encroachment of might upon right. "A court of justice," wrote the sagacious Reviewer, "without favouritism, or *esprit de corps*, or the love of peace, or the fear of scandal, to bias it, or, at all events, with the widest publicity, effectually to counteract all such influences, would be the best and most beneficent instrument of that enlightened despotism, which, it has been said with deep truth, is the mildest government for a country ruled by a dominant race. In teaching the native that the law is his protector against every form of tyranny, no matter from what quarter, it would teach him a lesson which has gone a long way to give manliness and moral fearlessness to our own national character; and in elevating him, it would at the same time save us from the obloquy and hatred which are brought upon our name, and from the danger in which our

government of India is placed by the misconduct of our countrymen."

"One magistrate may be better than a regiment, one sound law well administered better than a brigade," Sir Henry Lawrence has said; and his words may well be taken to heart by those who hold the destinies of India in their hands. India may be easily governed. From those distant days, almost lost from sight in the mist of time, when the Sudra first bowed the neck to his twice-born conquerors, till now, the aspirations of the teeming millions who overspread it have been of the humblest kind. They have hewn wood and drawn water for conquerors without repining; they will do so readily and gratefully for conquerors who will also be their protectors. If they ever knew what it was to have a country, the knowledge has long been forgotten. Patriotism is a word to which they attach no sense. The village is their country; they know none beyond. They do not dream of national independence or political rights. They do not seek to erect temples to Liberty; they ask merely to be admitted into the Temple of Justice. They ask—the first petition of a primitive people—that their various interests in life may be protected, and their disputes settled, by good laws and good administrators of those laws; and England will best comply with their prayer, and best secure their affection and her own rule, by giving them at once her own legal institutions, as far as they are susceptible of application to them."

A Penal Code had been in process of manufacture for many years. Lord Macaulay had commenced it on his appointment to the Presidency of the Law Commission in 1834, and in 1837 it was laid before the Government of the day. Twenty-four years had been passed in revising, considering, and digesting the Penal Code, and in 1861 it was passed by the Legislative Council, and became law at the commencement of 1862. In principle it recognised the equality of all men before the law. Every person was made liable to punishment without distinction of nation, rank, caste, or creed, for any crime committed within some

part of British India, excluding the settlements of Malacca, Singapore, and Prince of Wales Island.

This Penal Code is a very remarkable document. The text was drawn in abstract and concise language. A law may be expressed in language which is neither too prolix nor too concise. If an attempt be made by an enumeration of species to avoid the obscurity which arises from the use of general or abstract terms, doubts are created as to the comprehensiveness of the law; on the other hand, vague and extensive terms, if unexplained, convey no meaning to the reader, or are obscure and frequently ambiguous. The statute law of England was taken for the foundation of the Penal Code; but some of the provisions of the *lex scripta* were either extended or modified to meet the peculiar condition of Indian society. Thus, capital punishment, which in England is limited to the crime of murder, directly perpetrated by certain individuals, by the Penal Code includes abetment of suicide, murder in gang-robbery (dacoitee), even though the captured robber may not have been the actual assassin; waging war against the Queen; abetting mutiny, when the mutiny has been committed; giving or fabricating false evidence by means of which an innocent person is convicted and executed. Forfeiture of property accompanies sentence of death. It was high time that severe penalties should attach to perjury, particularly in the matter of false evidence. The English and other systems of law do not punish it with adequate severity, because, perhaps, the offence in its aggravated forms is not one of frequent occurrence in Western countries. But in India the practice was so common as to be almost habitual. The mere assertion of a witness commanded far less respect in India than in Europe or in the United States of America. In countries in which the standard of morality is high, direct evidence is generally considered the best evidence. In England assuredly it is so considered, and its value, as compared with the value of circumstantial evidence, is perhaps over-rated by the great majority of the population. But in India the case is different. A judge after he has heard a transaction related in the same

manner by several persons who declare themselves to have been eye-witnesses of it, and of whom he knows no harm, often feels in considerable doubt whether the whole, from beginning to end, be not a fiction, and is glad to meet with some circumstance, however slight, which supports the story, and which is not likely to have been devised for the purpose of supporting the story. One Bengal judge, Mr. Cracrost, after he had heard an equal number of witnesses on either side, each of whom made assertions on oath in point blank opposition to the assertions of the other party, would take a rupee from his pocket and toss it up, leaving the "heads or tails" to determine the verdict. It is not impossible that in this way as fair a judgment was reached as could have been arrived at by the most careful balancing of the contradictory testimony.

The importance of protecting the natives in the exercise of their religion and most sacred usages was not lost sight of by the enlightened authors of the Penal Code. Hence, uttering words with the deliberate intention of wounding the feelings of a man, or making any sound within his hearing, or any gesture in his sight, or placing any object in his view capable of wounding his religious feelings, is punishable by imprisonment for one year, or fine, or both. The great object of this law is to allow all fair latitude to religious discussion, and at the same time to prevent the professors of any religion from offering, under the pretext of such discussion, intentional insults to what is held sacred by others. In like manner, any offence by act, word, or gesture, calculated to insult the modesty of a woman, or intrude upon her privaey, is punishable with a year's imprisonment. In a country where many women consider themselves dishonoured by exposure to the gaze of strangers, many gross insults—such as a man rudely thrusting his head into the covered palanquin of a woman of rank—might well be deemed to outrage female modesty.

The crime of Dacoitee (or Dacoity), to which allusion has been made,\* naturally engaged the particular attention of the Law Commissioners, and, the plea of caste

\* Pages 154 and 155.

notwithstanding, it has been decreed that the crime shall be punished by imprisonment for ten years, or transportation for life. Forgery is dealt with in a more lenient spirit. No allowance is made for the plea under which Nuncomar's friends would have extenuated his offence, namely, that it was an every-day method among Hindoos of overreaching those with whom they had transactions; but, seeing how various are the kinds of forgery, and how different their operations upon the welfare of society, the code proportions the penalty to the exact degree of mischief intended or effected.

The tampering with weights and measures has not been permitted to pass with impunity. Great facilities are afforded for the commission of this crime in the varieties of weights and measures prevailing in different districts.

For example, in a district on the Coromandel coast, not more than fifteen miles long, there are no fewer than six different measures in which the merchant is compelled to compute his purchases. Such is the effect of the confusion upon local prices, that internal trade is paralysed by the impossibility of estimating profits. In the Bombay Presidency, the "seer" measure differs in nearly every town or station. While it is exactly 2lbs. (Troy) in Kurrachee, it is at Ahmedabad but 1lb. 14oz. Going south, we find it to be but 15oz. in Surat. At Nassick, it is 1lb. 15oz.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. At Bombay, it is only 11oz. 13dwts. 15drms. At Poonah, it is 1lb. 15oz.  $8\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. At Dharwar there are two kinds of seers—the *kutcha*, of 8oz. 3dwts. 5drms. ; and the *pucka*,\* 2lbs. 15oz.  $11\frac{1}{2}$ dwts. It is the same with the maund: 40 seers (80lbs.) go to the maund in Kurrachee. In Bombay, the maund is only equal to 14 Kurrachee seers. In Poonah and Broach, there are three

\* *Kutcha* and *pucka* are two very expressive Hindostanee words, respectively meaning "half-baked" and "well-baked," as applicable to the materials of which a house is composed. A *pucka* building is composed of bricks and stone; and a *kutcha* dwelling is a compound of bamboos, mud, broken half-baked bricks, rubble, &c. Thus anything, or anybody, super excellent, is *pucka*. A *pucka* collector is an invaluable Government servant; for he takes care to squeeze a sufficiency of revenue out of the people of his district.

corps and the bodies of "Horse," so called, which had remained faithful to the English. There were four European officers only appointed to each corps,—a commander, a second in command, an adjutant, and a medical officer. This was a much smaller number than the old regular regiments were allowed; and, considering that the paucity of European officers with the regiments constituted one of the alleged causes of the mutiny, it may seem at first sight to have been injudicious to have allotted so small a proportion upon the reorganization. But there was this wide difference between the past and the present. Although numerically stronger *on paper*, the regimental officers actually with the old corps were really very few, owing to the furloughs, and the staff employment of a considerable number of the seniors, which took them elsewhere. A special staff corps was now formed, which prevented any future interference with the regimental strength; and the officers specially selected to do duty with the newly-constituted corps were chosen from their peculiar fitness to govern the natives. The same rule was carried out (nearly) with infantry. Eleven regiments were retained in their entirety, because they had continued true to their salt. Thirty-three corps were created out of the local levies and the Seikh and Punjaub and other infantry.\* The Goorka regiments, consisting of the gallant and trustworthy little hillmen upon the Nepaulese frontier, were augmented; and sixteen regiments were constructed of Punjaubee Irregulars, each possessing four officers only. The whole of these troops were armed with smooth-bored muskets, while the Europeans retained the rifle.

The aggregate of this force was much inferior in strength to the regular native infantry existing anterior to the rebel-

\* The excellence of these troops had been demonstrated in the operations before Delhi, but they have had a more recent opportunity of displaying their prowess in other localities. During the expedition to China under Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the English and French ambassadors, they behaved so well in attacking the Tartar cavalry and other troops, as to have elicited the highest encomiums from Sir Hope Grant, the commander of the expedition, and to have excited the admiration of the French as well as the English soldiers.

lion. The deficiency, however, was more than counterbalanced by the presence of a much greater number of regiments of the firm and dependable British line than had ever been employed in India before. Previous to the outbreak, the European troops did not amount to 20,000 men of all arms. They were now augmented to fifty-seven regiments of infantry, twelve of cavalry, sixteen brigades of artillery, and a large body of engineers, making a total of nearly 40,000 European soldiers, judiciously planted in different parts of the empire, so that concentration at any given point became facile—particularly as the works upon the railway lines were rapidly reaching maturity.

The Indian navy, which, as the “Bombay Marine,” had in its time rendered good service in checking the pirates of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, and protecting the commerce of the Indian seas, had latterly dwindled down to a collection of mail and other steamers and survey-vessels. It was now deemed advisable to suppress the Indian navy altogether, or, at all events, to reduce it to such insignificant proportions that it might no longer burthen the revenue to an extent beyond its real practical value. The flotilla was therefore essentially reduced, and the chief duties which devolved on a maritime force were transferred to the vessels and officers of Her Majesty’s regular navy. In the histories of British India, the services rendered by the Indian navy all receive honourable mention; and the names of Wellstead, Lloyd, Moresby, Lynch, Rennie, and others will find honourable record among the brave and scientific men who belonged to the service.

The Indian civil service, under the old *régime*, had produced some very remarkable men. Elphinstone, Metcalfe, John Lawrence, were names which deserve to be classed with those of the most brilliant statesmen that ever adorned English history. ~~They~~ were the offspring of a system of exclusiveness it is true. No youth who had not a patron at the India House could hope for a nomination. Writerships, as the appointments were called, were not supposed to have a marketable value; but no man would have grudged 10,000*l.* for the prospective advantages which the

civil service held out, even though a collegiate education was a necessary preliminary to the despatch of a youth to the East. With the political extinction of the East India Company came the abolition of this grand monopoly of the loaves and fishes. The British public had for some time previous to the mutiny become impatient of those arrangements which confined the Government appointments to certain favoured classes ; and as the army, the navy, and the civil service of England had been thrown open to general competition, the Indian authorities anticipated public jealousy by rendering the same services in India accessible to all who could qualify for them. Inasmuch, however, as the India civil service exacts of its members a great variety of attainments, seeing that they have to fulfil the duties of judges, revenue collectors, political officers, and magistrates, and perform various other functions among distinct classes, speaking different languages, holding religious opinions, and cultivating prejudices which require to be managed tenderly and skilfully, a very high standard of qualification is demanded of all successful candidates. No one is permitted to compete for a civil appointment who is under eighteen or above twenty-two years of age, and who cannot show that he is free from all physical disorders, and enjoys a good moral character. He must be familiar with the English language, its literature, and its history, including its laws and constitution. He must be no stranger to the languages and literature of Greece, Rome, France, Italy, or Germany. Certain attainments in mathematics, natural science, logic, mental and moral philosophy, the Sanscrit and Arabic languages are likewise considered desirable. It is not necessary that the candidate should be master of all these subjects, but a certain acquaintance with them will be of advantage in placing him in a good position among the candidates. At the end of a year, after passing a close examination in more or less of these *desiderata*, the candidate is subjected to a second ordeal, to pass which triumphantly he must acquire one or more of the vernacular languages of India, manifest an acquaintance with the

History and geography of the country, the general principles of jurisprudence, the elements of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and the outlines of political economy. If the candidate should complete his twenty-fourth year without being able to reach the standard of qualification, he forfeits all chance of obtaining an appointment. Under such a competitive system the highest abilities in the country are available for the India service, and ought to insure an able executive, if it does not produce enlightened statesmen and sagacious legislators.

The examination for commissions in the Indian branch of Her Majesty's army is upon the same footing as that established for the line, artillery, and engineers. Whether under the amalgamation of the armies, the augmented European force, and the peaceable condition of India, there will rise up such a class of men as have at different times rendered the East India Company's army illustrious may be questioned. The chivalric Outram, the intrepid Burton (the African traveller), the adventurous Speke and Grant, who solved the interesting geographical problem of the source of the Nile, were all trained under the Company's system. What was there in that peculiar system to develop in so remarkable a degree the martial prowess and resolute ability of the officers? A few words may perhaps explain why it was that from amid the thickly-strewn British graves of the East men sprung up, in civil as in military life, fitted to grapple with every emergency. In the first place, the ordeal, both mental and physical, that they underwent was searching and severe. It probed to the quick, and either nerved or ruined the constitution both of mind and body. The spectacle of associates smitten down right and left by local diseases, suddenly and swiftly, and in ghastly numbers, has in frequent instances a sobering effect; while, on the other hand, it also drives not a few into a life of high excitement, and into luxurious indulgences which cut short many a career. Hence it is that the East India service abounds, probably more than any other, in men who add earnest piety and an unceasing sense of duty to those other noble qualities which give

them name and fame. And this creation of character is brought about at a far earlier period than with ordinary European routine—men still at an early age, if occasion offer, distinguish themselves or sink into self-indulgent obscurity. Again, from the nature of the country, and other necessities of its government, young men were thrown often and soon into isolated positions, wherein they were called upon to determine and act for themselves. Hence decision and self-reliance; hence the comparative readiness with which heavy responsibilities were assumed and daring steps essayed. There was no one to consult—no one to criticise. Then there was difficult and ample work to be done; and doers, at once able and willing, were eagerly sought, and when successful, were brilliantly rewarded. Add to this that constant residence among races assumed, and not altogether without justice, to be inferior, engendered the habit of command.

There is nothing in the new educational ordeal to prevent men becoming great and useful in India at an early age, but the altered state of affairs will render the opportunities far less frequent. Happy, perhaps, is it for the general interests of the Government and governors that such should be the case.

There was nothing which past Governments had been so anxious to avoid as any appearance of a desire to interfere with the religious usages of the natives, for the slightest attempt at their conversion to Christianity would have been at any time the apology for discontent and disturbances. In the excess of their caution the authorities had avoided making the Bible a class book in the public schools, and had in every way discountenanced the endeavours of the missionaries to propagate the Gospel among the heathen. Even this, however, did not protect the Government from the imputation of a covert proselytism. Every step taken in accordance with the suggestions of humanity and sound policy to abolish human sacrifices, and place the succession to estates and titles upon a proper basis—even the substitution of the beeswax-covered bullet for the paper cartridge—was treated by bigots and dis-

satisfied men as a proof of the furtive designs of the English upon the faith of the native. Consequently, when the whole frame and composition of the Government of India was recast, it was debated whether the Bible should be openly placed before the natives and read in the educational establishments, or kept altogether out of view, while the natural sciences were taught with the certainty that the truths they tended to develop would ultimately shake the belief of the Hindoo in the immaculacy of his ancient superstitions. "The books and traditions of a sect may contain," says Macaulay, "mingled with propositions strictly theological, other propositions purporting to rest on the same authority, which relate to physics. If new discoveries should throw discredit on the physical propositions, the theological propositions, unless they can be separated from the physical propositions, will share in the discredit. In this way, undoubtedly, the progress of science may indirectly serve the cause of religious truth. *The Hindoo mythology, for example, is bound up with a most absurd geography. Every young Brahmin, therefore, who learns geography in our colleges, learns to smile at the Hindoo mythology.*" This impression no doubt pervaded the minds of the new rulers; and notwithstanding that certain prelates and evangelical societies were strenuous in their endeavours to have the Gospel proclaimed in India, a more cautious policy ultimately obtained the preference. Nor was it long before the Government had reason to be satisfied with the wisdom of its decision. Certain enthusiastic missionaries had the extreme imprudence to circulate numerous anonymous letters, calling upon the Hindoos to abjure idolatry and embrace the Christian religion. Great excitement was produced at Meerut and Furruckabad by this piece of folly which the authorities had some trouble in subduing. As a further precaution against the exercise of too violent a spirit of religious propagandism, Sir Charles Wood prohibited missionaries from being employed in the educational department of the State. Even the clergy of the Established Church were kept out of the inspectorship of

schools for fear that their zeal might outrun their discretion. Yet there was no disposition shown to flatter the prejudices of caste. It had been discovered that there was really no connection between the usages of caste and the laws of religion ; but that the former were seized upon merely as pretexts for escaping some duty, or refusing to obey a distasteful order. Under cover of the obligations of caste, the Brahmin claimed immunity from the penalties of crime, and arrogantly held himself aloof from his fellow-men. Through the ties of a common caste certain classes had associated together for evil purposes, and obtained from their European masters a credit for religious austerity, which was only a cloak for conspiracy. The law now vindicates the interests of justice by disallowing all the pleas which have not a positive warranty in the Puranas or the Koran.

This repudiation of the claims of caste to exclusiveness seems to have had a wonderful effect in removing obstacles to education. No longer alarmed for the consequences of acting in opposition to the social decrees which hampered beneficial action, the Hindoos who had clung tenaciously to their own orthodoxy, now withdrew all restrictions upon the resort of their children to the public schools and colleges ; and the result, as early as 1861, was, that at the matriculation and degree examination of the Calcutta University, there were no less than eight hundred and nine candidates, of whom seven hundred and twenty-two were Hindoos. The course of examination was limited to the English language, history, geography, and mathematics. There were thirty-nine candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts, thirteen of whom succeeded in obtaining it, and out of that number the first (who obtained the greatest number of marks) was a Mahomedan, the next eleven were Hindoos, and the last was an Englishman from Bishop's College.

This remarkable competition—and the same was observable, in a degree, in all the colleges established in every part of India—established that the Hindoo possessed a singular aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge,

Lord Canning's administration. It was  
his desire to make the Government of India  
become a rule that is not only wise, but also  
State in any sphere of power, but which, in my opinion,  
the administration in all the relations of India, would be perfectly  
an administration to insure the future happiness of our Country.  
Having accomplished this work, and he left springing  
calculated to insure the future happiness of our Country,  
of India, Lord Canning's great work, which, without springing  
He had accomplished improvements which, without springing  
many subsidiary were yet administered with great success,  
from himself, were yet administered with great success,  
consequence of a liberal monopoly; screw press association  
Macetus was for the first time lighted to the entire super-  
salt was imported in large quantities and wool were established at  
cession of the wretched monopoly; screw press association  
the East India Company's monopoly and police jurisdiction was  
given to certain jagheerars in their own jagheers; news-  
papers and mechanics' institutes were started in every part  
of the country, and great numbers of natives voluntarily  
embraced Christianity.

During the period of Lord Canning's absence from England  
land all the old landmarks of the East India Company had  
been effaced. The cumbrous palace in Leadenhall Street,  
where the rulers of the East had for very many years,  
carried on their mighty operations, was razed to the ground,  
and in its place a row of stately modern buildings, let out  
as private offices, had risen up; Haileybury College was  
knocked down to the best bidder, and the College at Addis-  
combe, where so many able artillerists and engineers  
received their education, had dwindled to a sort of prepara-  
tory school.

The health of Lord Canning had been so much shattered  
by the anxieties and toils of his vice-regal office, that he  
lived but a very few weeks after his arrival in England in  
April, 1862. Sorrow clouded the last hours of his useful  
life, for before he left India, death had bereft him of his  
admirable wife. She died on the 18th November, 1861.

The Viscountess Canning—a daughter of Lord Stuart de Rothsay—had shared all her husband's perils, soothed his troubles, and encouraged him by her heroism. All that could be expected of a lady in her position in India, she nobly accomplished, and merited the friendship (which she enjoyed) of Queen Victoria. Her epitaph, written by her heartbroken husband, was as follows:—“Honours and praises written on a tomb are at best a vainglory, but that her charity, humility, meekness, and watchful faith in her Saviour will, for that Saviour's sake, be accepted of God, and be to her a glory everlasting, is the firm trust of those who knew her best, and most dearly loved her in life, and who cherish the memory of her departed.”

The higher the authority which discourses of a statesman's career, the greater is the value of the commentary. No slight importance, therefore, may be attached to the following article from *The Times* of March 17th, 1862. Without directly and by name alluding to Lord Canning, it records the history of his administration posterior to the mutiny, and hopefully sketches the promising aspect of British India. Lord Canning's best friends could not have wished for a higher tribute or a nobler epitaph:—

“Tea and cotton, the temperate stimulant of our whole population and the staple of an immense industry, form the text of the intelligence which we publish to-day from Calcutta. China is in difficulties, and America is sealed up. The great empire of tea and silk is in such a state of decomposition, that no one can tell how soon the producers of tea may be shut out from the seaboard, and what swarms of savage plunderers may intervene between the ports of commerce and the great cultivated districts. America is burning her cotton in despair, or is sowing her cotton-fields with wheat to maintain her negroes and her undisciplined armies. The ordinary sources whence we draw the cheering beverage and the raw material of remunerative labour, are either dried up or are bubbling intermittently. India has come forward to claim the custom thus unexpectedly thrown open. Just as America had ceased, and just as China has shown symptoms of doubtful supply, India has

risen. 'Within the last four years,' we are told, 'not less than a hundred Englishmen have turned the jungly valleys of the Assam, Sylhet, and Cachar hills into smiling gardens,' and the produce of these gardens even in this, their 'infant state, shows no inconsiderable proportion when compared with that of China. What India has already done in respect of cotton may be read in the market reports, but may be still better known from the testimony of those practical men who are watching the decline of those inveterate trade prejudices which almost banished the Surat cottons from our markets. For some time now past the attention of the master manufacturer has rather been directed to the inquiry as to how he should get rid of his stock of manufactured goods than as to how he might most speedily manufacture more. But, as the old stocks are now passing away, intelligent minds have been watching the effect of experiments; machinery has been altered, a slight reduplication of the working has been practised and tested by the sure touchstone of profit and loss, and the hardest heads in Manchester and Liverpool have arrived at the conclusion that from this time forward American and Indian cotton will never again be distinguished by that vast difference of price which formerly obtained.

"Even in India, where former failures have made cotton-growers wary and suspicious, that general feeling of hope which is the parent of energy and success seems to be rising. 'Give India another year, and the feeling is that it will take a position in the Lancashire market somewhat more like that which it held in 1818, when we sent 247,000 bales to England, against 207,000 from America.' That India will have that year, and perhaps another and another, few will doubt who look upon the events that are passing on the other side of the Atlantic. If it be necessary that India should have a close market for a time, there is every probability that she will have it for some time yet to come; and, as we know that the grooves of trade and commerce are just as difficult to get out of as the grooves of popular habit or official routine, perhaps by the time that the cot-

ton-fields of South America are again in full cultivation the arrangement of our machinery and the course of our manufacture may be as much in favour of the cotton which comes from the country of 'the woven wind' as from the long staples of the American islands and coasts. India has at least one great advantage. While war and anarchy are gaining upon her two rivals, a great bloodless revolution has come like a sea-breeze to refresh that vast peninsula. No sooner could the Governor-General turn away from the sound of conflict, and make sure that India was his and ours, but he swept away in a few months the old rickety system which had been for generations the curse of the country. We are so far off, and the echoes come upon us so faintly, that we are hardly conscious here of the great revolution which has been going on in India. The India of to-day is a totally different country from the India of six months ago. The stiff fences which divided the official from the non-official classes have been broken down, the discouragement which pressed upon the enterprise of Europeans has been removed, the shackles which impeded the action of all who would carry capital and labour into the uncleared jungles of the Peninsula have been struck off, and the evil eye which palsied the energies of independent labour has been conjured away. All that capitalists and cultivators in India have been reasonably asking has been, or is in the way of being, granted. All that was said to be impossible or ridiculous is quietly being done. Prosperity in India, even in a few months, has sprung up like the grass upon a spot from which a huge stone has been rolled away. Under the influence of a new government and a healthy administration, the vast deficits and the impending bankruptcy have disappeared, the financial condition of the country has become sound, and, in a land where the common rate of interest was a short time ago twelve per cent., the public Five and a-half per Cent. Stock of the Government is bought by native buyers at more than eight per cent. premium. Meanwhile the railways are advancing. The East Indian has opened another link, and gives promise to join the old and distant city of Benares with

Calcutta before this year goes out. Another line advances from Calcutta to the Sunderbunds, where it will test out the tigers, and turn the salt, jungly swamps, into cotton-fields. If we may believe in all these appearances, India is starting upon a career of prosperity which has no visible halting-place; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that it is to our British rule, and to the sagacity of our British statesmen, who have been firm to overthrow the ancient errors of her governors, that she owes her quick revival.

“ Amid these causes for congratulation it is a light thing that the half Mongul savages of the North-east of Bengal have been found plundering our new settlers, and that the troubles in Darjeeling are to some small extent revived. This is but the old story. ‘ Had Mr. Grant introduced the police, as he was directed to do, more than a year ago, their very presence would have prevented the risings in Assam, and would have calmed the excitement of the Indigo districts.’ Tea-planters and cotton-growers would have been prudent in drawing back from speculations in such districts if these interruptions were to be feared continually. But neither Mr. Grant, nor the system of Mr. Grant, is any longer dominant in this great province of India. The hill-men and jungle-wallahs will no longer receive tacit encouragement to oppose themselves to the spread of improvement in the wastes of Bengal, and the action of a newly-organized police will soon give security to industry, both native and European. From predatory savages these tribes will soon, under firm and equitable treatment, become useful labourers. Already the Hindoo labourer has risen immensely in the scale of existence, and has come to experience that life may be something better than a struggle against starvation. ‘ The only obstacle,’ says our Calcutta correspondent, ‘ to the progress of tea-planting is the want of labour; and it should not be so difficult to induce the Kookees, Cossyas, Abors, Nagas, and other Indo-Chinese tribes, to become peaceful and wealthy labourers or agriculturists.’ ”

## CHAPTER XXI.

The Earl of Elgin becomes Viceroy of India—His previous Career—The State of the Indian Finances in 1862—Lord Elgin holds a Durbar at Agra, and meets the Sikh Chiefs at Umballa—His addresses—He proceeds to Simla—Journey to the Tea Districts—Death of Lord Elgin—The Western Marauders and the Bonair Tribes—Address of 8000 Natives of Calcutta to the Government—Sir John Lawrence appointed Viceroy of India—The Revenue, Finance, and Trade of India for 1864—Sir John Lawrence holds a Durbar at Lahore, and opens a Railway Line—Quarrel with the Bhootan Rajah—The Progress of Bombay—Conclusion.

LORD CANNING was succeeded in the government of India by Lord Elgin—an enlightened Scottish nobleman and schoolfellow of Lord Canning's. The term, "titled mediocrity," which the advocates for the exclusive employment of Indian statesmen had used in reference to some governors who had had little else to recommend them than their aristocratic position, did not apply to Lord Elgin. He was, beyond question, the ablest man of the time available for the exalted office of Viceroy. When the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies led to temporary disorder and convulsions, Lord Elgin was selected to reduce Jamaica to order, and he most successfully performed his onerous task. At a later period, as Governor of the Canadas, he stood his ground against divers factions, and restored loyalty where disaffection was previously rampant. Subsequently, when on his way to China, accompanied by a large naval and military force, a part of which had been sent from Calcutta to Singapore, he put aside all personal considerations, and postponing his own mission, sent back the troops to Calcutta that they might aid in the suppression of the mutiny. But it was on the voyage to China and in the operations in that country that his great abilities and high personal qualities were most conspicuous. "There are those," says one of Lord Elgin's biographers, "who remember how, when, not

for the first time, he encountered the terrors of shipwreck at Point de Galle, the two ambassadors of England and France sat side by side unmoved amid the awful scene, and refused to leave the sinking ship, inspiring all around them with the cheerfulness and spirit needed for the emergency. There are those who saw him, by that rare union of tact with firmness, of fertile resource with simplicity of aim, which belonged to the character of his race, twice over bring to a prosperous end the stupid and provoking negotiations, and the no less stupid and provoking wars of the most inaccessible and intractable of earthly empires; who watched the moderation with which he procured the Treaty of Tien-tsin, the decisive energy with which he avenged the dignity of England by the destruction of the Summer Palace at Pekin, and received the humiliation of the Chinese Prince in the heart of the imperial city."

Lord Elgin found the affairs of India in a comparatively satisfactory state. A marked improvement had taken place in the material prosperity of that portion of the British empire, especially in the financial department. The chronic state of deficit, which was the distinguishing feature of the Company's management, had gradually disappeared, and the public securities were in high credit. When Sir Charles Wood presented to the House of Commons the accounts of the Indian finances to the 30th April, 1862, he showed that the actual revenue was 43,829,000*l.*, and the expenditure 43,880,000*l.*, and in a few months later the revenue ran up to 45,306,000*l.*, with a balance to credit of 816,000*l.* No military operations of magnitude were in progress to call for prompt and vigorous action on the part of the ruling authority or to furnish matter for narrations of thrilling interest. On the contrary, a hearty acquiescence in the belief that no such opportunities existed, and that it was incumbent upon him by all practicable means to prevent their recurrence, was the first duty which the situation of affairs presented to the Earl of Elgin.

For nearly a twelvemonth after his arrival in India, the

Viceroy remained at Calcutta, making himself acquainted with the condition of affairs, and following up with wisdom and energy the measures introduced by his predecessor and the Legislative Councils and law-makers. He then arranged for a journey to the north that he might see the princes and chiefs who had been addressed by Lord Canning, and repeat the assurances of confidence which had been so cordially received at the durbars held by his lordship. It will be observed that, previous to the mutiny, intercourse between the head of the Government and the true aristocracy of India had been infrequent, and while opportunity was thus afforded for the fomenters of intrigue and treachery, the governors-general had deprived themselves of the means of acquiring the friendship and support of a body of chieftains who were, even in their comparatively prostrate condition, sufficiently influential for good or evil.

Lord Elgin spent six days at Agra in receiving the chiefs at private and public durbars—the great *durbar* being attended by a larger number of chiefs than ever before assembled on a similar occasion. Upon the latter occasion he thus addressed his princely visitors:—

“Peace, I need hardly remind you of the fact, now happily prevails throughout the whole extent of this vast empire; domestic treason has been crushed; and foreign enemies have been taught to respect the power of the arms of England.

“The British Government is desirous to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, not to extend the bounds of its dominions, but to develop the resources and draw forth the natural wealth of India, and thus to promote the well-being and happiness both of rulers and of the people.

“With this view many measures of improvement and progress have already been introduced, and among them, I may name as most conspicuous, the railway and electric telegraph, those great discoveries of this age which have so largely increased the wealth and power of the mightiest nations of the West.

“By diffusing education among your vassals and de-

pends, establishing schools, promoting the construction of good roads, and suppressing, with the whole weight of your authority and influence, barbarous usages and crimes, such as infanticide, suttee, thuggee, and dacoitee, you may, princes and chiefs, effectually second these endeavours of the British Government, and secure for yourselves and your people a full share of the benefits which the measures to which I have alluded are calculated to confer upon you. I have observed with satisfaction the steps which many of you have already taken in this direction, and more especially the enlightened policy which has induced some of you to remove transit and other duties which obstructed the free course of commerce through your States.

“ As representing the paramount power, it is my duty to keep the peace in India. For this purpose, Her Majesty the Queen has placed at my disposal a large and gallant army, which, if the necessity should arise, I shall not hesitate to employ for the repression of disorder and the punishment of any who may be rash enough to disturb the general tranquillity. But it is also my duty to extend the hand of encouragement and friendship to all who labour for the good of India, and to assure you that the chiefs who make their own dependents contented and prosperous, establish thereby the strongest claim on the favour and protection of the British Government.

“ I bid you now; princes and chiefs, farewell for a time, with the expression of my earnest hope, that, on your return to your homes, health and happiness may attend you.”

Lord Elgin did not hold a durbar at Delhi, but at Umballah, near the foot of the Himalayan range, he called together the influential Sikh chiefs, whose martial qualities it was his wish to recognise with all due honour, while seeking to impart a more pacific direction to their energies. The capture of Pekin, in which some of their race had had a share, was in their eyes a more singular manifestation of British power than would have been the capture of half the capitals of Europe ; and Lord Elgin knew they were more

inclined than ever to follow the British standard into foreign lands if invited to do so. On these sentiments he founded the following address, "the last public expression of his good-will to the Indian races."

"Colonel Durand,—I beg that you will express to the native gentlemen who are assembled here my regret that I am unable to address them in their own language, and inform them that I am charged by Her Majesty the Queen to convey to them the assurance of Her Majesty's high appreciation of the loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty's person and Government which has been exhibited on various occasions by the Sikh rulers and people. Not many days ago it was my pleasing duty to determine that the medal granted to Her Majesty's troops who were engaged at Delhi in 1857, should be conferred on the followers of the Sikh chiefs who took part in the noble achievements of that period, and I can personally bear testimony to the good services of the officers and men of the Sikh regiments who, in 1860, co-operated with the British troops in placing the British flag on the walls of Pekin, the capital of the vast empire of China.

"But, in order to be truly great, it is necessary that nations should excel in the arts of peace as well as in those of war.

"Look to the history of the British nation for an example. Most assuredly the British people are powerful in war; but their might and renown are in a great measure due to their proficiency in the works which make a time of peace fruitful and glorious.

"By their skill in agriculture, they have converted their country into a garden; by their genius as traders they have attracted to it a large share of the wealth of other lands.

"Let us take advantage of this season of tranquillity to confer similar benefits on the Punjab.

"The waters which fall on your mountain heights, and unite at their base to form mighty rivers, are a treasure which, duly distributed, will fertilize your plains and largely augment their productive powers. With electric telegraphs to facilitate communication, and railways and

canals to render access to the sea-ports easy and expeditious, we shall be able to convey the surplus produce of this great country to others where it is required, and to receive from them their riches in return.

“ I rejoice to learn that some of the chiefs in this part of India are taking an interest in these matters, which are of such vital importance to the welfare of this country and the prosperity of the people. It affords me, moreover, sincere gratification to find that, under the able guidance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Sikh Sirdars in certain districts of the Punjab are giving proof of their appreciation of the value of education by making provision for the education of their sons and daughters.

“ Be assured that in so doing you are adopting a judicious policy. The experience of all nations proves that where rulers are well informed and sagacious, the people are contented and willingly submissive to authority. Moreover, it is generally found that where mothers are enlightened, sons are valiant and wise.

“ I earnestly exhort you, therefore, to persevere in the course on which you have entered, and I promise you while you continue in it the sympathy and support of the British Government.”

Previous to Lord Elgin’s departure from Calcutta, an event took place which went far to prove not only that vast improvements had been wrought in the condition of society since the Queen assumed the government of the country, but that the natives were keenly alive to the advantages they had gained, and eager to give expression to their feelings. In March, 1863, a large meeting was held, at which an address to Sir Charles Wood was agreed to, and signed by 8000 of the principal native inhabitants, expressing their high sense of gratitude for the wise and beneficent policy which had distinguished the administration for five years,—“ A policy,” said the address, “ which has nobly sustained the authority and dignity of Her Majesty’s Government in her Indian dominions, strengthened by new bonds of attachment the confidence and sympathy of the princes and chiefs of the country ; and above all, sought to govern the

empire in consonance with justice and the true interests of the teeming millions."

Peace was now universal in the British dominions in India, but there were still some marauding tribes on the distant north-west frontier who required the strong arm of correction. These tribes, composed entirely of Mussulmans, occupied fastnesses on the western bank of the Indus, whence they issued to plunder the industrious inhabitants and travellers in their vicinity. To chastise these marauders an adequate force was despatched under Lord Elgin's orders. Unfortunately, it proceeded by the Umbeylah Pass, contiguous to which the Bonair tribes are settled. These people, imagining that the Government had some design upon them, turned out in great force to oppose the expedition. Fighting continued for two days, at the end of which time the Bonairs, becoming aware that no intention existed of molesting them, joined the British detachment, and assisted in punishing the predatory ruffians.

Arrived at Simla, the principal abode of the English on the Himalaya range, Lord Elgin arranged to explore the tea plantations recently established in the mountains, intending to close his progress at Lahore with a gathering of the great Sirdars and other chiefs in amity with the Government. He ascended the Roburg Pass on the 12th of October, and crossed a famous twig bridge over the river Chondra. The rude texture of the branches composing this bridge, and the wear and tear it had undergone during the previous year, rendered the passage a matter of great exertion. Lord Elgin was completely prostrated by the effort. He nevertheless returned to his camp and continued his march on horseback until, on the 22nd of October, an alarming attack obliged him to be carried by slow stages to Dhurmsala. Here a fatal malady, which had been lurking under his apparently stout frame and strong constitution, manifested itself, and had advanced so far with its ravages that by the 6th of November his medical attendants came to the painful conclusion that his lordship's illness was mortal. He rallied momentarily after this, and then came a fatal relapse. On the 20th of

November this excellent man breathed his last, having on the previous day desired that a message might be sent through Sir Charles Wood, expressive of his love and devotion to the Queen, and of his determination to do his work to the last possible moment. He begged at the same time that his "best blessing" might be sent to the Secretary of the Indian Government and Sir C. Wood.

Lord Elgin's natural resting-place was in the vaults of the Abbey Church of Dumfermline; but he sleeps far away from his native land on the heights of Dhurmsala, beneath the snow-clad Himalayan range—"a fitting grave for one who dwelt with such serene satisfaction on all that was grand and beautiful in men and nature:—

"Pondering God's mysteries untold,  
And tranquil in the glacier snows,  
He by those Indian mountains old  
Might well repose."\*

Although he was not actually in India during the terrible insurrection, Lord Elgin's wisdom and self-denial in forwarding troops from Singapore, and his subsequent proceedings, entitle him to be numbered with those illustrious men who had been more or less engaged in restoring peace and security to the country. How few of them survived to reap personally the fruits of their gigantic labours! Canning, Havelock, Clyde, Outram, Henry Lawrence, Elphinstone, and a host of lesser spirits, have all passed away, leaving behind them noble examples for imitation and an imperishable fame.

The extraordinary administrative abilities and magnificent services of Sir John Lawrence had some time previously pointed him out as peculiarly competent to fill the Vice-Regal office, and it was commonly said that he had the reversion of the appointment in his pocket. Be this as it may, Sir John was now formally proclaimed; and he lost no time in proceeding to the scene of his future duties and responsibilities. His appointment was hailed with the greatest delight throughout India. It was felt and emphatically said that he was the right man in the right place.

\* 'North British Review.'

His daring, his energy, his integrity, his lofty sense of justice, his familiarity with the character, habits, prejudices, and languages of the people, and the awe and respect with which he was regarded since his instrumentality in forwarding a Sikh force to crush the Delhi mutineers, all tended to establish his right to the confidence of his sovereign as her viceroy in India.

Shortly after Sir John Lawrence had proceeded to assume the government, the Secretary of State for India made his statement in the House of Commons respecting the financial, commercial, and agricultural condition of India. The details presented astounding proofs of the rapid growth of the prosperity of the land. In the year ending 30th April, 1864, the surplus revenue was 257,000*l.*; and Sir Charles Trevelyan, the financial member of the Legislative Council, estimated that, in the year in which this volume will be published, there will be a surplus of 828,000*l.* Nine millions sterling of the debt of India had been liquidated. The revenue derived from the opium cultivators had amounted to 8,055,000*l.*, being an increase of 1,696,000*l.* over the previous year. The impulse given to the cotton trade has already been alluded to.\* In 1858-9, in the normal state of India before the rebellion, the coffee imported into England amounted to 11,000,000 lbs.; in 1864, to 21,000,000 lbs. Indigo, in the same time, ran up from 9,000,000 lbs. to 11,000,000 lbs. Jute hemp had received an immense impetus. In five years, the exports had augmented from 317,000 cwt. to 1,266,000 cwt. ; and those of wool, from 15,000,000 lbs. to 21,000,000 lbs. The value of the tea grown in Assam in 1858-59 was 60,000*l.* In 1862-63 it had reached 223,000*l.* In return for the exports, India had received, in five years, no less than 50,000,000*l.* in silver, and 25,000,000*l.* in gold bullion, the greater part of which was applicable to household and decorative purposes. Finally, a material addition to the vegetable wealth of the country had been made in the cul-

\* The cotton crop of 1864 in the north-western provinces yielded 160,000,000 lbs. In one season the area of cultivation had increased by 595,000 acres.

tivation of the chinchona plant, a South American exotic, which yields the quinine so highly valued for its curative and preventive properties in districts where fever prevails.

The extraordinary improvement which had taken place in the financial resources of India, would appear to have arisen from the increased cultivation of the land, and the consequent augmentation of the land revenue. The income tax had not been found a fruitful source of revenue, owing to the reluctance of many natives to pay it, and the misrepresentations made by them as to the real amount of their several incomes. It is to be repealed in the current year.

Sir John Lawrence found the local government of India in a very effective working condition. The native members of the Legislative Council had taken a very active part in legislation, and expressed their opinions freely at the Council Boards, greatly to the advantage of the Government. The number of native Councillors in 1864 was sixteen, of whom eight belonged to the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, five to that of the Bombay Governor, and three were members of the Madras Council.

Seven years have elapsed since the Government of India passed into the hands of Queen Victoria. We have shown how the interval has been employed, and it must be admitted that the hands into which Her Majesty intrusted the duty of conciliation, improvement, and consolidation, have done their spiriting most effectually. If there could be any doubt that love and loyalty have superseded disaffection and concealed antipathy, that doubt must have been effectually dissipated on the 18th of October, 1864. On that memorable day, Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, held a grand durbar at Lahore, in the Punjab, the scene of his own noble deeds in 1857. Upwards of 600 princes and chieftains, who had never "crooked the pregnant hinges of the knee" to mortal man, attended to offer homage to the representative of Britain's Queen. The scene was one of unparalleled grandeur. North of the city of Lahore, between the walls of the fort and the Ravee, which flows by the city, stretches a level plain, green with

close turf and studded here and there with clumps of dark-leaved trees. Here the magnificent and spacious tents for the durbar of the Viceroy had been pitched. On one side was the luxuriant Badami garden; to the south stretched the city, with the grand Padshah Musjeed, possessing three marble domes and four lofty minarets rising conspicuously above it. At the extreme end of the principal tent was the throne of the Viceroy, on a raised dais, spread with cloth of gold and covered with a rich crimson canopy. At each side of the throne were ranged, in the form of an ellipse, the rajahs, chiefs, and native gentlemen, all gaily attired. There was the Maharajah of Cashmere, the province so celebrated in poetry and romance for the exquisite texture of its shawls and the beauty of its women; the Maharajah of Putteala, the splendour of whose court was only eclipsed by the magnificent example of fidelity to his engagements which he afforded during the most perilous crisis of the great insurrection; and many lesser known, but equally faithful notabilities. Blazing with diamonds, emeralds, and pearls, and arrayed in superb robes which put the stiff fashions of European courts to shame, they made the durbar as picturesque and imposing as any similar scene could have been in the days of the great Akbar. Sir John Lawrence addressed the chiefs in the Oordoo language. "It is something," wrote one of the London papers at the time, "to have a Governor-General who can address the chiefs in a language they can understand: it creates a link only second to that which is formed by identity of race. If, when his Excellency presented the Star of India to the Rajah of Kuppoortulla, he had addressed him in English, his words, so well calculated to inspire all his hearers with a feeling of emulation, would have lost much of their force in being translated by the interpreter." After the speech, the various presentations were made; and when the last Sirdar had been introduced, tokens of honour were conferred on twenty of the leading chiefs. During the ceremony the piper of the 93rd Highlanders, whose cheering notes had once aroused the drooping energies of the troops cooped up in Lucknow,

played a variety of spirit-stirring tunes, which much exhilarated the native chiefs, to whose ears the pipes sounded as some of their own peculiar music.

On the day following the durbar, Sir John Lawrence officially opened the first section of the Punjab Railway line from Lahore to Mooltan, expatiating, in a suitable public address, upon the political and commercial improvement which the line was calculated to promote.\* A dinner

\* In India, as well as in Europe, the arrival of a great man is taken advantage of to give some *éclat* to the commencement or opening of railways; and as Sir John Lawrence had graced the inauguration of the Punjab Railway by turning the first sod several years ago, nothing could be more natural than that he should still further identify himself with this most important work by opening a large additional section of the line.

The Punjab Railway is 252 miles in length, and extends from Umritsur to Mooltan; and, with the Delhi Railway, it constitutes the crown of that great steam arch, 2200 miles in length, which will unite Calcutta, in the Bay of Bengal, with Kurrachee, on the Arabian Sea.

The great central railway station at Lahore, now rapidly approaching completion, is one of the largest and most beautiful structures in India. It is a very picturesque building, with a style of architecture in the East suggestive enough, although it would in England be considered entirely out of place. It has been built so as to answer in some degree the purposes of a fortress should the occasion arise, as well as of a railway station; and its massive walls, pierced with loopholes for musketry, flanked by bomb-proof towers, and crowned by minarets, would give it the appearance of some mediæval castle, were it not for the evident newness of the materials with which it is built. Here, in time of danger, the European community could retire, and defend both themselves and the railway against the enemy. Holding the command of this great central station would go a long way to keep open the communications both with Umritsur and Mooltan.

On the 8th of February, 1859, the present Viceroy and Governor-General of India, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, turned the first sod of the Punjab Railway, in presence of a vast assembly of the native nobility, and with every circumstance calculated to make the ceremonial impressive. Although the heavings of the mutiny had hardly subsided, Sir John Lawrence then predicted the success of the railway, saying that "few railways in India will have been undertaken under happier auspices." On the 1st March, 1862, Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, opened the first section of the railway, thirty-two miles in length, which placed Lahore and Umritsur in railway communication. That occasion Sir Robert Montgomery characterised as "a great day for the Punjab—a new era." "Another link," he said, "has been added to the great highway between Kurrachee, the sea-port of North-Western India, and Umritsur." And he expressed his conviction, "that not only

was given on this occasion to 120 European employés on the line, and an eye-witness remarked, "The durbar at which the Viceroy received six hundred princes and chiefs in a splendid tent, pitched on a vast plain, was doubtless a magnificent sight, but we regarded the assembly of a hundred hard-handed plain English mechanics, in an ordinary railway waiting-room erected in the ancient Sikh capital, as far more curious and suggestive, and one calculated to excite emotions of a more pleasurable nature. The one was a mere pageant, representative of the barbaric splendour of the dark ages, while the other was the living embodiment of progress and enlightenment."

On the third day the vast assembly broke up, the Maharajah of Cashmere, with the heir apparent and their suite, proceeding by special train over part of the line, en route to the dominions of the chief; thus giving proof that, although he had never seen a railway or a locomotive before, he well understood their mechanism and use.

Some little uneasiness was expressed in the course of 1863, because the local Government of Bengal had prohibited the practice of casting the dead bodies of Hindoos into the Ganges. The motives of the prohibition were purely of a physical and hygienic character. The air of the city of Calcutta had received additional pollution from the putrefaction of the corpses left by the tide upon the shores, or deposited thereon to receive the embraces of the "holy Gunga." The Ganges, of which the Hooghly is the chief tributary or affluent, is supposed by the Hindoos

India in general will undergo a complete change through the earliest possible completion of the railway system, but that more especially the various nations and races of the Punjab, as well as the semi-barbarous tribes that girdle its frontier, will all the sooner succumb to its civilising influence, if we be permitted to augur such a result from the witness we have had on the late opening of the line to Umritsur, and almost daily since, of the excited demeanour and the unhesitating though wonder-struck submission (tendered as to a superior power or race of men, against whom, in future, it would be vain to contend) which the crowds of natives of all classes and countries then exhibited." A Brahmin on that occasion, looking at a locomotive, remarked that "all the incarnations of all the gods in India never produced such a thing as that."—Allen's 'Indian Mail.'

to have proceeded from the mouth of the Creator of the Universe, and to possess, therefore, certain holy properties. Hence the anxiety of the orthodox that their relatives should swallow Gunga at the close of their lives, or be carried upon the bosom of the stream to immortality. But the practice had (as already mentioned, page 15) degenerated into an engine of crime ; and it was fortunate that a legitimate excuse presented itself for placing it in the category of nuisances that ought to be abated. The suppression received the full assent of the principal natives of Calcutta, who, under the wholesome influence of education, are gradually dismissing all those practices which, whatever may be the religious pretences for their protracted existence, are inconsistent with common sense and the public good.

At the foot of the Western Himalayas lies a slip of territory called by the name of Bhootan, lying directly north of Lower Bengal, conterminous with the province of Assam. Since 1774 the British had held no intercourse with the State, which is, indeed, composed of people scarcely removed from barbarism. Early in 1864 a mission or embassy was sent to Bhootan, consisting only of four European gentlemen and two hundred cooley attendants. The object of the mission was to demand the surrender of several British subjects who had been seized by the Bhootan hill-men, the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier. The Bhootan chief received the message with savage insolence, grossly maltreated the envoy and his suite, and only released him upon his promising that a British province should be ceded to him. The Government could not of course confirm such an agreement. On the contrary, it was immediately repudiated, and a force equipped to obtain satisfaction for the outrageous insult offered to the embassy. The satisfaction takes the form of the seizure of certain districts and the occupation of the passes between the highlands of Bhootan and the British territory.

Some idea may be formed of the difficult task of the troops from the following communication :—The left

column has taken Dalimkote, on the hill slopes, about forty miles due north of Julpigoree, believed to be the strongest fortification the Bhootanese possess. Most probably the troops will suffer more from sickness than from other causes. In fact, some of the senior officers have already had to relinquish their commands, in consequence of severe attacks of fever. The plains at the foot of the Bhootan hills are extremely unhealthy, but when once our forces reach the heights, which are 4,000 ft. above the sea-level, they will really enjoy the climate. The following account of the taking of Dalimkote is dated within the stronghold, December 8:—

“ I send off a few lines just to tell you that we took this famous place the day before yesterday, not, I am sorry to say, without serious loss, the Bhooteas having fought with much more courage and resolution than we expected, and the fort being both naturally and artificially strong, and in a most commanding position. We were opposed nearly all the way up the hill, and could only proceed by a narrow, tortuous road, constantly exposed to showers of arrows and stones, both of which the Bhooteas threw with great force and precision. The column got close up to the fort without any serious loss, M'Gregor, the Brigade Major, and Loughnan, of the 18th Native Infantry, being the only wounded ; but then there stood the fort before us, on a hill about two hundred feet high, surrounded by a thick wall of about twenty feet elevation. We soon brought our small mortars into position, and were getting on very well with the work, throwing shells and carcasses into the fort at about a couple of hundred yards range, when, from a fuze being too short cut, the shell burst in the muzzle of the mortar, and exploded a quantity of powder which poor Griffin was weighing out for the charges : and in an instant three officers, Griffin, Anderson, and Waller, and some artillery-men close by, were blown to atoms. This was a terrible catastrophe to the whole force, and had nearly been far worse, as our gallant and much-esteemed Brigadier General Dunsford was within a yard of the group just before it occurred, having only that instant left poor Griffin to give



her claims to good government, and triumphantly point to the great military mutiny as proof of the justice of their censures. As in all instances in which the judgment is obscured by prejudice, the exceptions have been substituted for the rule. We have made some serious mistakes, and we have rectified them. Our good intentions have often been thwarted or misunderstood, and the errors of individual governors have been perverted by malice to represent the wilful misdeeds of a nation. Facts and statistics offer the best defence that England can urge when her rule is called in question, and these must insure for her a verdict of which she may be proud. Take the progress of Bombay, our earliest possession of any moment, as an evidence of the consequences of humane rule and enlarged toleration. The island came into the possession of England soon after the Restoration, as part of the dower of Catherine of Braganza. It was then worth, in real fixed property, 2,838*l.*, and there were 10,000 inhabitants. In 1688 the property had augmented to 6,496*l.* Disturbed by pirates and the aggression of the Mahrattas, the island slowly advanced. In 1812 the property was valued at 130,260*l.*, and the population amounted to 1,800,000 souls. There were not more than 16,000 in 1716. By the year 1837, before the establishment of a regular overland communication by Red Sea steamers and the free navigation of the Indus, the population had augmented to 240,000. After these events the growth of the island in its commercial and prosperous social proportions was rapid. In 1849 it contained 566,199 persons, and by 1864 there were 816,562 inhabitants of Bombay;\* the fixed property had augmented to *five millions* sterling, the sea-borne commerce was worth thirty millions sterling, and the vessels sailing in and out of the port exceeded a million tons.

\* The Indo-Europeans now number 1,891; the Europeans, 4,814; and the Jews, 2,872; and of native Christians there are 19,903. The Parsees number 49,201; the Mussulmans, 145,880; the Brahmins, 30,604; and Hindoos, 191,540. There are only 2,074 negroes, and 358 Chinese. This enormous and seething population is contained in 24,206 houses.

What stronger proofs can be needed that England has done her duty by the people and that they accept her efforts in a grateful spirit?

Considering how many evil-minded princes have been deposed and dynasties destroyed, it is as astonishing as it is creditable to England how few of the rich trophies of conquest have been appropriated and brought away. Unlike the Vandals, who despoiled conquered towns, we have been content to take possession of the Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light—a diamond of surpassing beauty and value—and the crystal throne which adorned the audience hall of the great Mogul. The latter trophy exists as a sign of the folly of those who attempt to overthrow the British power in India. The crystal throne consists of one mass of rock crystal, four feet in diameter by two feet in height. In shape it resembles a large sofa-cushion with its tassels at the four corners. When the Mahrattas took Delhi they tried to burn the crystal throne with fire, so that it is now cracked or seamed.

The history of the other trophy—the now well-known Koh-i-noor—is interesting—almost romantic. It has long been the subject of traditional fable as well as of historical record.

“According to Hindu legend, it was found in the mines of Golconda in the South of India in the days of the great war (the subject of the heroic poem, or ‘*Mahábhárata*’), and was worn by one of the warriors who was slain on that occasion, Karna, king of Anga; this would place it about 5000 years ago. A long interval next makes it the property of the Rajah of Ujayin, 56 B.C., from whom it descended to his successors, the Rajahs of Malwa, until the principality was subverted by Mohammedan conquerors, into whose hands it fell with other spoils of infinite value.

“In 1665, Mons. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, an enterprising and intelligent traveller, and an eminent jeweller, visited India especially to purchase diamonds. His profession and his personal character seem to have recommended him to the favourable attention of the nobles of the court of Delhi, and of Aurungzebe himself, bigot as

he was, by whose commands Mons. Tavernier was permitted to inspect and handle, and even to weigh, the jewels of the Imperial Cabinet. Amongst them was one which far surpassed all the rest in size and value. Tavernier describes it as rose-cut, of the shape of an egg cut in two, of good water, and weighing  $319\frac{1}{2}$  ratis, which, he says, is equal to 280 of our carats—the rati being 7-8ths of a carat. In another place he affects more precision. The rati or gunja, however, as it is also called, is an actual jewellers' weight, rather heavier than the seed, and has been found by trial to be equal to 2 3-16th grains. If we call the imperial diamond 320 ratis, its weight by this scale will be exactly 700 grains or 175 carats, a sufficiently near approximation to the actual weight of the Koh-i-noor, 186 carats, taken with more perfect scales and weights than the imperial jewellers were likely to have provided, and with more care and deliberation than Tavernier might have had the opportunity of exercising. That this Mogul diamond passed into the possession of the ruling family of Kabul is invariably affirmed by the members of that family and by the jewellers of Delhi and Kabul, and is by both identified with the Koh-i-noor. We know, from concurrent and unquestionable evidence, that Nadir Shah, on his occupation of Delhi, in 1739, compelled Mohammed Shah, the great-grandson of Aurungzebe, to give up to him everything of value that the imperial treasury possessed, and his biographer and secretary specifies a peshkush, a present by Mohammed Shah to his conqueror, of several magnificent diamonds. According to the family and to popular tradition, Mohammed Shah wore the Koh-i-noor in his turban at his interview with his conqueror, who insisted on changing turbans as a proof of his regard. However this might have been, we need have little doubt that the great diamond of Aurungzebe was in the possession of Mohammed Shah at the time of the Persian invasion, and if it was, it most certainly changed masters, and became, as is universally asserted, the property of Nadir Shah, who is also said to have bestowed on it the name of Koh-i-noor. After his death, the dia-

mond, which he had wrested from the unfortunate representative of the house of Timur, became the property of Ahmed Shah, the founder of the Abdali dynasty of Kabul, having been given to him, or, more properly, taken by him, from Shah Rakh, the young son of Nadir; the jewel descended to the successors of Ahmed Shah, and when Mr. Elphinstone was at Peshawur, was worn by Shah Shuja on his arm. Mr. Elphinstone refers to Tavernier as having delineated the gem, intimating his impression of the identity of the Great Mogul's diamond and the Koh-i-noor, and Captain Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs,' calls it 'the great diamond which had adorned the throne of the Moguls.'

"When Shah Shuja was driven from Kabul, he became the nominal guest and actual prisoner of Runjit Sing, who spared neither opportunity nor menace until, in 1813, he compelled the fugitive monarch to resign the precious gem, presenting him on the occasion, it is said, with a lakh and 25,000 rupees, or about 12,000*l.* sterling. According to Shah Shuja's own account, however, he assigned to him the revenues of three villages, not one rupee of which he ever realised. Runjit was highly elated by the acquisition of the diamond, and wore it as an armlet at all public festivals. When he was dying, an attempt was made by persons about him to persuade him to make the diamond a present to Zagannah, and it is said he intimated, by an inclination of his head, his assent. The treasurer, however, in whose charge it was, refused to give it up without some better warrant; and Runjit dying before a written order could be signed by him, the Koh-i-noor was preserved for a while for his successors. It was occasionally worn by Khurruk Sing and Shir Sing. After the murder of the latter it remained in the Lahore treasury until the supercession of Dhulip Sing, and the annexation of the Punjab by the British Government, when the civil authorities took possession of the Lahore treasury, under the stipulation previously made, that all the property of the State should be confiscated to the East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the Lahore Government and of the

expenses of the war. It was at the same time stipulated that the Koh-i-noor should be surrendered to the Queen of England. The diamond was conveyed to Bombay by Governor-General the Earl of Dalhousie, whom ill health had compelled to repair to the coast, and was there given in charge to Lieut.-Colonel Mackeson, C.B., and Captain T. Ramsay, the military secretary to the Governor-General, to take to England. These officers embarked on board her Majesty's steam-ship *Medea*, and left Bombay on the 6th of April, 1850. They arrived at Portsmouth on the 30th of June, and two days afterwards relinquished their charge to the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors, by whom, in company with the President of the Board of Control, the Koh-i-noor was delivered to her Majesty on the 3rd of July—an appropriate and honourable close to its eventful career."

We have now sketched the history of British India to the close of 1864 as far as it has been compatible with the general plan of this volume. A few pages may not inappropriately be devoted to an outline of the social condition of the country, and the habits of life of the Europeans and natives.

Since the world began so wondrous a spectacle has never been presented to the mind as that of nearly two hundred millions of people ruled by a fraction of the inhabitants of a distant island. The submission of the gentle natives of southern countries to the dominion of hardy northerners is an old story, but never were the physical proportions of the conquered to the conqueror so great as in the instance of British India; and after making every allowance for the influence of superior military skill and prowess, the cause of European preponderance must ultimately be referred to

"The power of thought, the magic of the mind."

India is no longer the *El Dorado* which our grandfathers and great-grandfathers found it. The merchants and planters may realise fortunes by happy strokes of trade—and as readily become bankrupts through unlucky specula-

tions or improvident ventures. But those who seek positions in the Government service must be content with moderate incomes for a long series of years in a trying climate, and a comparatively small pension when they have fulfilled the conditions of their engagement. There is no chance of their realising fortunes excepting through the growth of compound interest upon their savings—if they be able to effect any—or through the successes of the banks, agricultural, railway, and other associations of which they may become shareholders. Nevertheless, the competition *wallahs* (fellows) are very numerous among the young men of our English teeming population, and an Indian appointment, whether civil or military, is still regarded as a prize. The pay and allowances of the various grades of the Service are certainly more than sufficient for the ordinary comforts of life, and even allow of a margin for what are termed its luxuries, though there are few enjoyments which really merit the title, being, as they are, but the necessary alleviators of the inconveniences of climate.

The climate of India varies very much with the character of the soil and the altitude of the land above the sea level. The lower parts of Bengal and portions of the shores of Coromandel are extremely humid, more particularly during the prevalence of the heavy rains, which continue for three or four months incessantly, leaving the earth saturated for the same length of time. The vapours produced by the powerful action of the sun are necessarily pregnant with malaria, and cast a languor over the human frame which indisposes men to exertion. In the northern and north-western parts of India the plains are arid, and the hot winds which blow in the early part of the year are very exhaustive and unhealthy. In the Hills, on the contrary, such as the Neilgherries and the Himalayas, at an altitude of 4000 feet, the climate is delicious, and peculiarly favourable to the European constitution. People may ride, walk, and even labour in the open air without the slightest inconvenience to their system. The breezes which blow temper the rays of the sun, and invigorate those who are exposed to their hygienic action.

The habits of European life are to a certain extent influenced by the climate. In the plains, where the great cities are to be found, people remain indoors in the pursuit of their different avocations. The houses are usually darkened, to exclude as much as possible the heat, which is the accompaniment of light. Large fans (termed *punkahs*), consisting of long frames covered with cloth, are suspended to the ceilings, and are moved to and fro by the hand of a servant, and occasionally a screen of *cus cuss* (a fragrant dry grass) is placed against the windows and kept watered, so that the air passing through them may reach the heated occupant of the apartment cooled and flavoured. The floors of the rooms are covered with matting instead of carpeting, and as little furniture is scattered about as may consist with convenience, for all kinds of chattels harbour vermin and insects. In keeping with these measures for the mitigation of the heat is the clothing of the European. Broadcloth is eschewed, excepting on state and public occasions, and at parties in the cool season. Cotton tunics, jackets, vests and trousers; light straw or *sola* hats, with curtains to protect the neck, cotton under-garments and socks, make up the wardrobe of a gentleman. His bed seldom consists of more than a mat, some cotton sheets, and a quilted coverlid, thrown over a cane-bottomed bedstead, and the whole is enclosed in gauze curtains to exclude the mosquitoes. In their diet the Europeans seldom vary either in their hours or the quality of their dishes from their home usages; but perhaps more ale, wine, and spirits are drank in India, for the heat induces a great degree of thirst and exhaustion. In the articles of food there is not much to distinguish the table of the Anglo-Indian from that of the Englishman resident in his own country. The markets yield good beef, tolerable mutton, and tender kid, a succulent substitute for the lamb of the London market. Pork is generally eschewed. Poultry is abundant, and if not large it is well flavoured. The fish of the East is abundant in the vicinity of the sea, and some very fine qualities are caught in the Hooghly river. The mango fish (a periodical and temporary visitor, which makes its appearance in the

